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No.277/June 2011

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**US CAVALRY
AT THE
ROSEBUD**



BREAKING HINDENBURG LINE

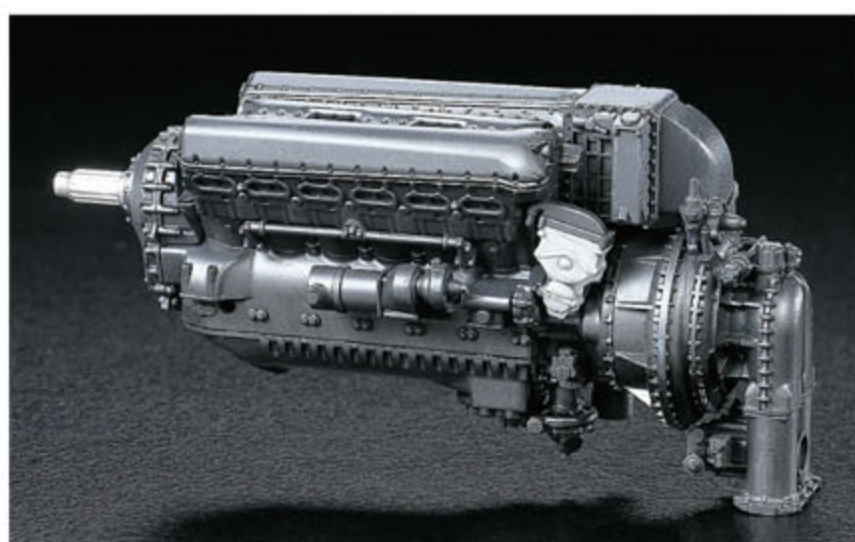
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No.485 Squadron, Fassberg, Germany, Summer 1945



No.1 (Pilots) Refresher Flying Unit, Finningley, UK, March 1949



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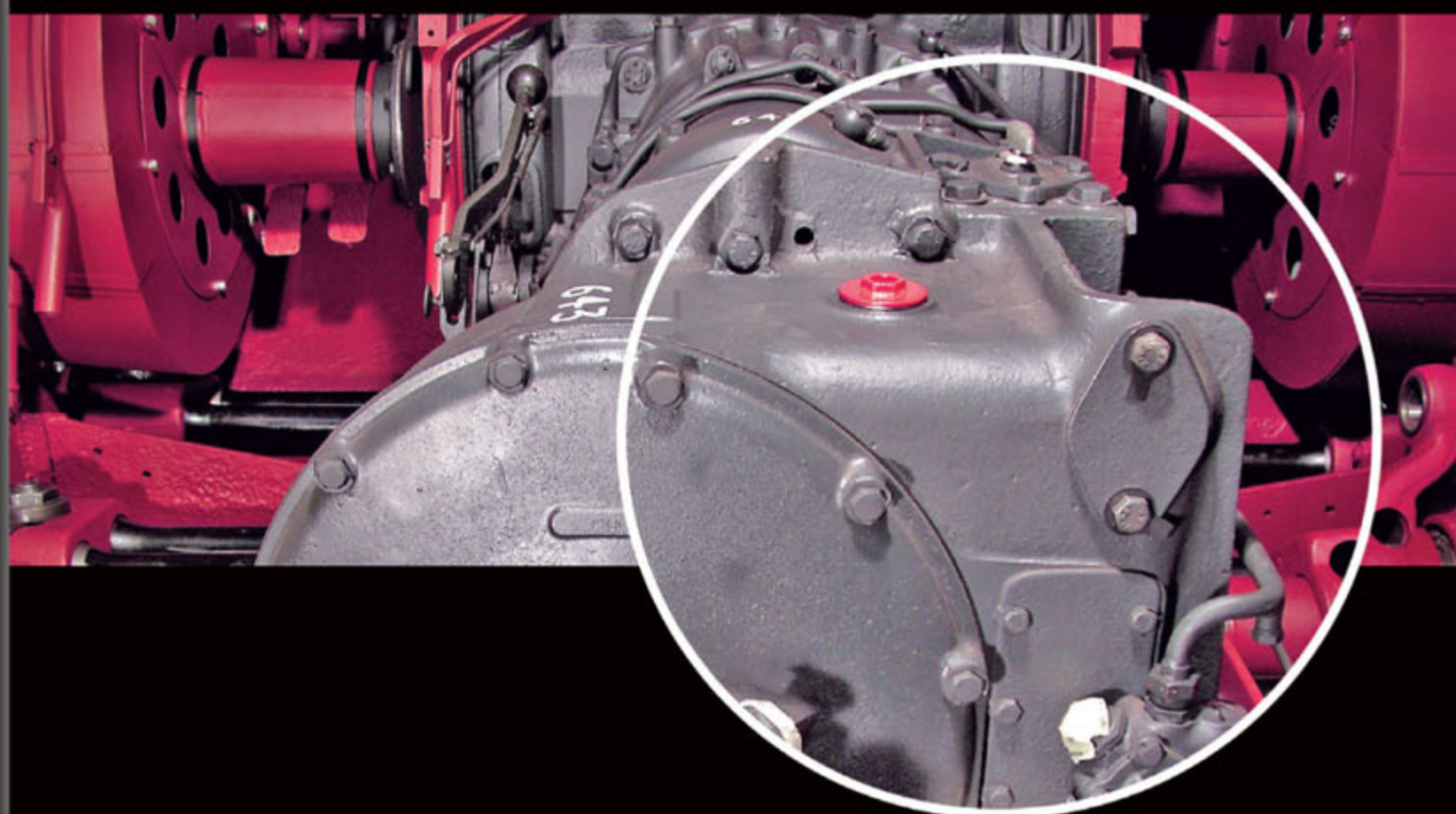
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THE ULTIMATE PANTHER GUIDE

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1 VOLUME ONE - DRIVETRAIN AND HULL

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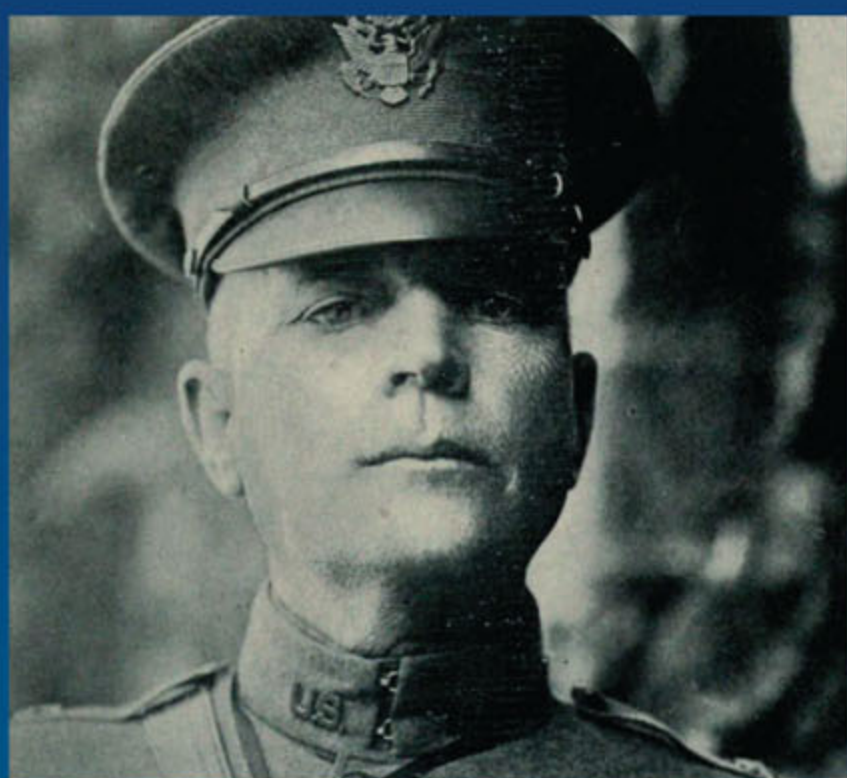
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Readers' Letters

MI readers are invited to write to the Editor. Letters should be addressed to: Tim Newark, Military Illustrated, 3 Barton Buildings, off Queen Square, Bath BA1 2JR. E-mail: timn@fsmail.net

Last issue

Sadly, despite the enthusiasm of some readers, the digital edition of Military Illustrated has failed to generate enough subscribers and this is the last issue. So, after 25 years, this really is the end of Military Illustrated. Many thanks to all our loyal readers for your support and continued interest in our magazine—and, of course, many thanks to all our contributors over the years who have shared their knowledge and enthusiasm with us. It has been a pleasure working with you all.

Tim Newark, Editor, Military Illustrated



Brig-Gen Campbell congratulates his men after their successful crossing of the St Quentin Canal. (Imperial War Museum)

Military bands



The Guards Museum is hosting a band concert in The Guards Chapel on Sunday 5 June 2011 at 5.00pm. Playing will be The Band of The Coldstream Guards, under the direction of Lieutenant Colonel Graham Jones, and the United States Army Europe Band, under the direction of Lieutenant Colonel Beth TM Steele. Tickets are £15,

including a glass of wine before the concert. Tickets obtainable for credit card bookings from the Toy Soldier Centre 020 7976 0850 or by cheque from The Guards Museum, Wellington Barracks, Birdcage Walk, London SW1E 6HQ Tel: 020 7414 3428. Cheques made payable to The Guards Museum. All proceeds go to The Guards Museum.

1777 Correction

Please note that 'The Year Britain Lost America' article in the May issue of MI was written by Andrew Bamford and not Arnold Blumberg.

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EDITOR

Tim Newark
3 Barton Buildings,
off Queen Square,
Bath BA1 2JR
Email: timn@fsmail.net

DESIGN

Colin Trundle
Alex Hall

WEBSITE

Alex Hall

UK & US ADVERTISING

Colin Spinner
ADH Publishing Ltd
Doolittle Mill, Doolittle Lane
Totterhoe, Beds, LU6 1QX
Tel: 01525 222573
colin@adhpublishing.com

SUBSCRIPTIONS

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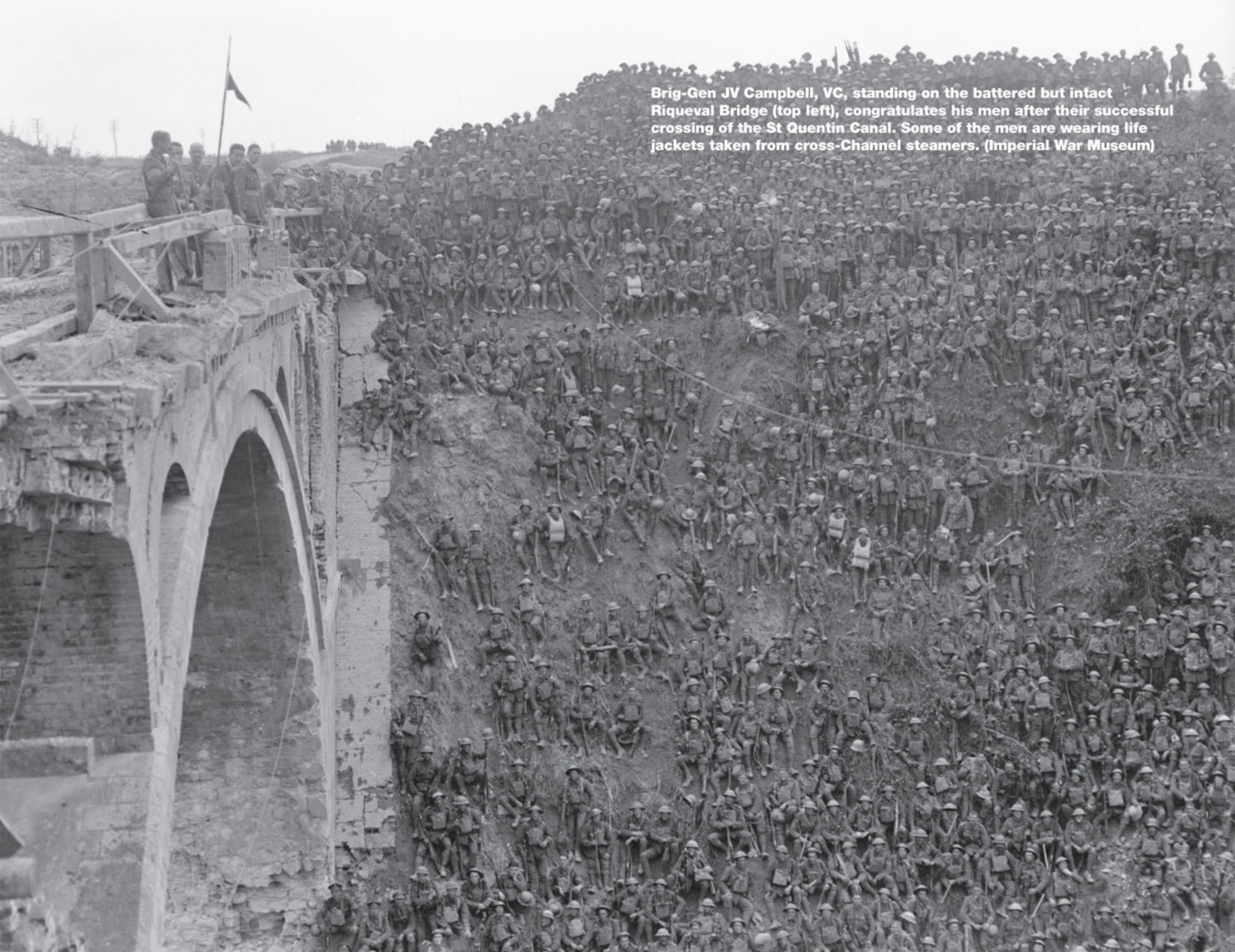
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Brig-Gen JV Campbell, VC, standing on the battered but intact Riqueval Bridge (top left), congratulates his men after their successful crossing of the St Quentin Canal. Some of the men are wearing life jackets taken from cross-Channel steamers. (Imperial War Museum)

BREAKING THE HINDENBURG LINE

Victory on the Western Front hinged on the fighting of 29 September 1918, argues RICHARD STEVENSON, when British, Australian and US troops smashed through the Hindenburg Line in the battle of St Quentin Canal.

A lot had happened on the Western Front since Sir Douglas Haig issued his famous 'Backs to the wall' order of the day in April 1918. The German Spring Offensives had been held – just – after which the Allies went over to the counter-attack and retook the lost ground. By late September, the British Expeditionary Force (BEF) in Picardy was back where it had been between April 1917 and March 1918—facing the formidable Hindenburg Line.

This time there was only to be a short pause on this line, because the Allied Commander, Marshal Ferdinand Foch, was determined to continue attacking while the Germans were reeling and the huge influx of American manpower could be fed into the fighting. An Allied conference on 9 September agreed his plan for what turned out to be the final offensive on the Western Front. Foch and Haig – unlike their political masters and most of their subordinates – believed that the war could be won before the end of the year.

Foch's grand offensive began with four great blows on successive days: the French and Americans attacked in the south on 26 September; the Canadian Corps blasted across the Canal du Nord on the 27th; the northern group of Belgian, British and French armies launched their assault on the 28th. The final piece was the attack on 29 September by Sir Henry Rawlinson's British Fourth Army, aimed at the toughest part of the Hindenburg Line.

Siegfried Stellung

The 'Hindenburg Line' was the British name for the complex of defensive lines built soon after Field Marshal Paul von Hindenburg and his quartermaster-general General Erich Ludendorff took over direction of the German Army in 1916. The section from Arras to St Quentin was known to the Germans as the Siegfried Stellung, and much of its length utilised the great canals of Northern France to provide ready-made moats and anti-tank ditches. The Canal du Nord crossed on 27 September was unfinished and mainly dry, but the St Quentin Canal in front of Fourth Army had been a working waterway—35 ft wide and still containing 6–10 ft of water and mud.

There was one weak point in this line where the canal went through a three-mile tunnel (the Grande Souterrain), depriving the defenders of their moat between Bellicourt and Vendhuille. Haig and Rawlinson selected this sector for

their attack. Naturally, the Germans also recognised its weakness, and had established five (instead of two) lines of trenches and concrete emplacements to fill the gap. They had also dug galleries down to the tunnel, so that thousands of troops could be quartered on barges moored on the canal, safe from any bombardment, and enjoying electric light and kitchens.

It was Rawlinson who urged that the frontage of attack should be widened beyond this land bridge to include a section of canal between Bellicourt and the next tunnel at Bellenglise. Approaching the Bellicourt portal, the canal runs through a deep cutting, both sides of which were covered in barbed wire and concrete pillboxes. This would be an extremely hazardous attack, on a section of line that the Germans considered impregnable, but it would reduce reliance on the narrow main thrust.

Sir John Monash. The victorious but exhausted Australians were being pulled out to rest and refit for the anticipated battles of 1919. Only the 3rd and 5th Australian Divisions remained in the line and this was to be their last operation. However, it was felt unfair for the badly depleted 'Diggers' to make the initial attack – instead they would be held back for the follow-up, which would require all their celebrated battlecraft.

The first objective was allotted to Maj-Gen George W Read's II US Corps, comprising the 27th and 30th US Divisions. These had undergone training with experienced British units, but they were still very green and this was their first attack. Read was happy to operate under Monash's guidance, so for the purposes of this battle there was a single US-Australian corps HQ, and a large training mission of Australians was attached to US units



British Whippet tank passes German wounded escorted by American soldiers.
(US National Archives)

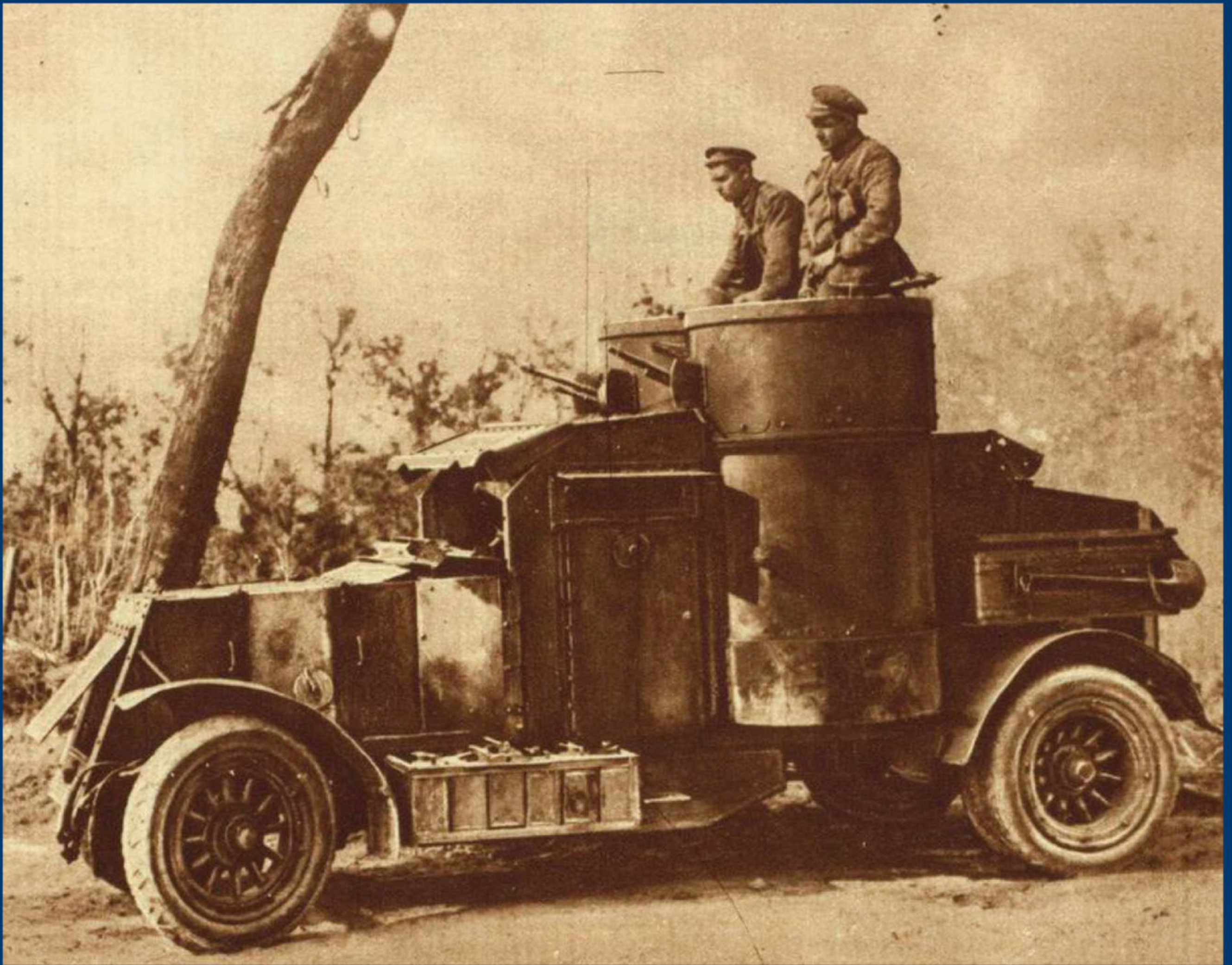
Rawlinson had one trump card: a complete map of the original defence scheme, captured when a German HQ was overrun during the summer advances. Although further work had been undertaken since 1917, it was a huge advantage to the British to have so much detailed knowledge.

O'Ryan's Roughnecks

The main attack was entrusted to the Australian Corps commanded by Lt-Gen

down to company level. In addition, as the US Army's primary role in the war was to provide manpower (their divisions were roughly twice the size of anyone else's) much of their artillery and support echelons were provided by the Allies – Australian gunners shot in support of the Americans in this attack.

Both US divisions were composed of National Guardsmen (equivalent of British Territorials). The 30th on the right was from North and South Carolina and



Austin armoured car: these were towed into action behind tracked tanks. (GWPDA)

Tennessee, and was known as the 'Old Hickory' division after President Andrew Jackson who hailed from that area. The 27th on the left was formed from famous New York National Guard (NYNG) regiments with distinguished records from the American Civil War. It was commanded by Maj-Gen John O'Ryan, a lawyer who was the only National Guard general to hold an active command, because he had studied the job assiduously and trained his men well.

The 107th Infantry (the 'Old Seventh' NYNG) were known as 'O'Ryan's Roughnecks'. The National Guardsmen had seen several months of Federal service on the Mexican border chasing Pancho Villa in 1916, and then been recalled when the US entered WW1. Now, bolstered with draftees, they had been learning trench warfare under British tutelage in the Ypres Salient since the summer of 1918, but what training and experience they had was still inadequate for modern

combat. The problem was compounded in September 1918 by the absence of large numbers of American officers attending training schools. These enthusiastic but raw soldiers would make the same basic mistakes that the British Territorials and Volunteers had made and learned from in 1915–16.

Hazardous attack

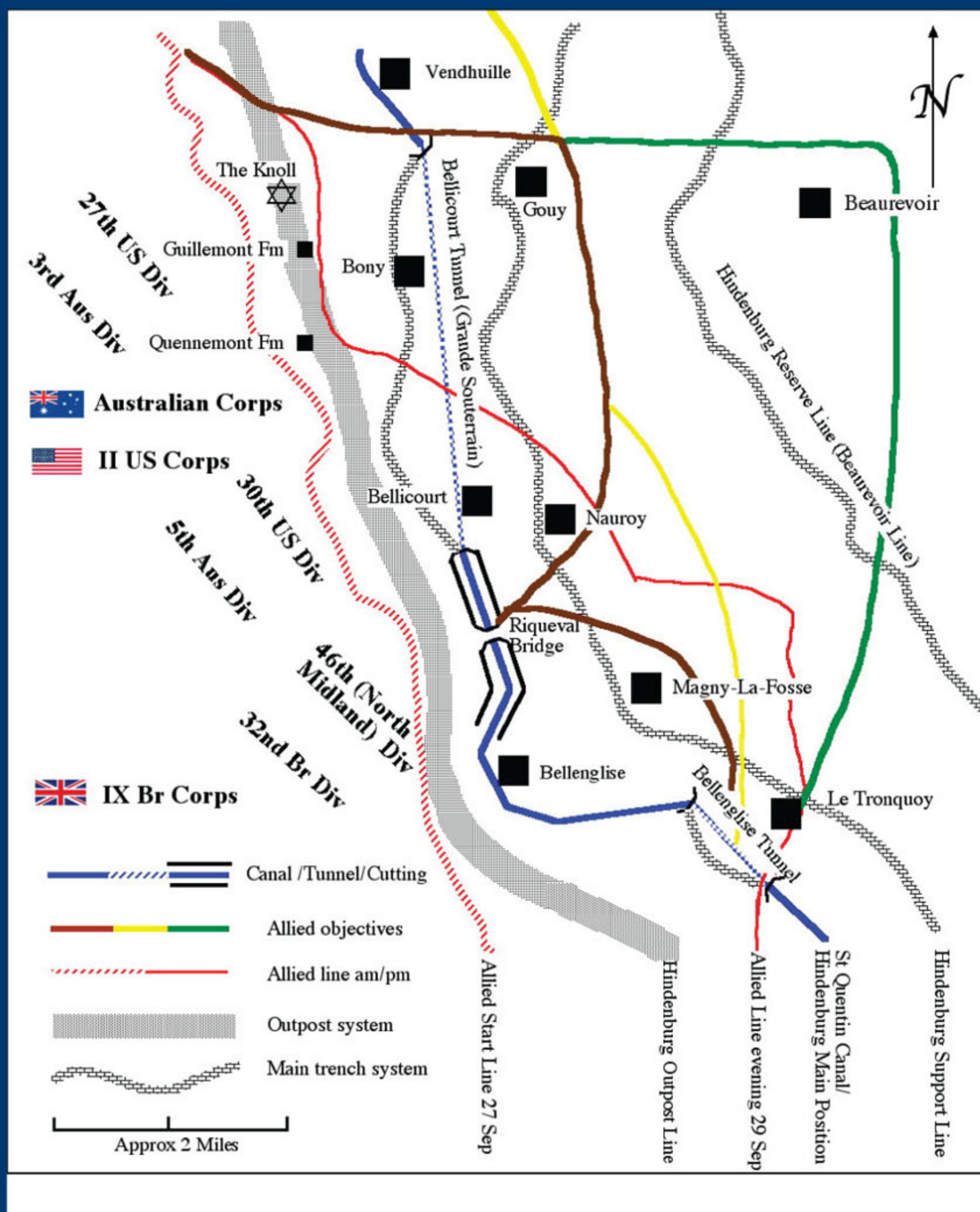
The hazardous attack on the canal – described as 'like the ditch of a fortress' – was entrusted to British IX Corps. This was newly reconstituted after earlier disasters and Sir Walter Braithwaite had been brought in to command it. His attack would be led by the 46th (North Midland) Division followed by the 32nd Division.

The 46th had been the first Territorial division to go to France in 1915, but was written off as a 'dud' after failing at its first battles, the Hohenzollern Redoubt at Loos (October 1915) and the Gommecourt Salient on the Somme (1 July 1916).

Since then it had made only one more attack (Hill 70 in August 1917), and was considered suitable only for trench-holding. Ironically, this meant that it contained more long-service, experienced men than the 'storm' divisions that had been used up over and over again. What is more, they had a point to prove before the war ended.

The 32nd Division was composed of New Army battalions raised in 1914 with names like 'Salford Pals', 'Glasgow Tramways Battalion' and 'Glasgow Boys Brigade'. There were few original 'pals' left by late 1918 and the battalions had been reconstituted many times. They had been involved in some of the heaviest but most successful fighting since August (including crossing the Somme Canal on 5 September). Now the 32nd was tired and weakened, but very experienced. Like the Australians, its role would be to pass through the 46th onto the final objective.

The 46th Division had a new



Sketch map of the battle of St Quentin Canal, 29 September 1918

commander, Maj-Gen Gerald Boyd, who had been commissioned from the ranks during the Boer War. Arriving fresh from action near Arras, he set about teaching these trench-holders the subtleties of attacking, late-1918 style. An officer of the division described it thus: 'Companies on wide frontages, echeloned in depth, with each Platoon in a line of sections in "blobs," or small and somewhat open groups. With this formation there was less likelihood of severe casualties from shelling or machine guns, whilst it was a most simple formation from which extensions could be carried out, and at the same time it allowed the Section Commander to retain control of his men up to the last possible moment'.

Boyd also introduced tactics for cooperating with tanks. Rawlinson had 10 out of the BEF's 14 tank battalions, including two of Whippets and one of armoured cars; the rest were Mark V or V* heavy tanks. In addition he

had the 301st US Tank Bn, equipped with Mark V*s. Whippets were faster eight-mph 'medium' tanks, designed to exploit breakthroughs. Armoured cars had hardly been seen on the Western Front since trench warfare set in, but the Tank Corps had developed a technique of towing them across broken ground behind heavy tanks, which crushed barbed wire and bridged trenches with fascines, and then loosed the wheeled vehicles into the good going beyond the lines.

The 17th Tank Bn was equipped with Austin Armoured Cars. Originally built for the Russian Army, these were diverted to the BEF following the Russian Revolution, the Maxim guns in their twin turrets replaced with the Hotchkiss MG favoured by the Tank Corps. Although the Austins weighed over four tons, they had a top speed of 30–35 mph on a road. At the battle of Amiens on 8 August they had broken through the German lines to a

depth of eight miles, and it was hoped that they could do the same in this attack after driving over the top of the tunnel.

This was an artillery war, and Fourth Army had concentrated prodigious numbers of guns, but problems were caused by the condition of the back areas. Guns, ammunition and supplies had to come through the old Somme battlefields and areas deliberately laid waste by the Germans. Canadian engineers rebuilt the railway, which became the most important supply source for the operation. The Hindenburg Line, however, ran through rolling downland, and there were plenty of dry-weather tracks; indeed, wheeled and tracked vehicles could move freely cross-country.

Gas bombardment

The bombardment began on the night of 26/27 September. Rawlinson's talented artillery chief, Maj-Gen CED Budworth, had devised a subtle, targeted bombardment plan, based on detailed intelligence, which was a far cry from the crude battering of earlier days. His guns also fired the first consignment of shells containing BB gas – a copy of German 'Yellow Cross' mustard gas. Mustard 'gas' was actually a viscous liquid, and the droplets hung around for a long time, getting on boots, clothing and equipment and slowly evaporating. Anyone touching the liquid developed horrendous blisters, while the vapour damaged the eyes and lungs. The Germans had shown how effective it could be for rendering gun positions and HQs uninhabitable. Budworth even had some captured Yellow Cross shells to hurl back at them.

The gas bombardment was followed by sustained shelling with high explosive on known strongpoints, tunnel and dugout entrances and telephone exchanges. Huge 12-inch shells caved in the western end of the Bellenglise tunnel, though an attempt to drain the canal by shelling the bank was a failure. Other tasks for the guns were to cut lanes through the barbed wire using the revolutionary No 106 fuse. Previously gunners had tried to cut wire using shrapnel shells (the balls of which often just rattled the wire) or HE shells with delay fuses (which dug into the ground before exploding, often just lifting the wire and dropping it back over the fresh crater). The new 'instantaneous' fuse detonated when shells brushed the wire, or touched the ground. Fourth Army ordered that only the 106 fuse was to be used on roads, to prevent them being cratered. Lastly there was harassing fire, designed to

keep the Germans in their dugouts and unable to sleep.

The RAF's V Brigade (17 squadrons) was assigned to Fourth Army, with night and day bombers attacking enemy villages and aerodromes. During the assault, low-flying fighters were to be sent out by a new Central Information Bureau against 'targets of interest', paying particular attention to German batteries and the 'sausage' balloons that were their eyes. Major Trafford Leigh-Mallory's No 8 Sqn was specially trained for cooperating with tanks.

Two days before the main assault, 27th Division carried out a preliminary attack to clear the German Outpost Line and close up to its designated jumping off line, 1100 yards ahead. Haig worried about giving this task to the inexperienced Americans, and his fears proved justified. After an overnight gas and HE bombardment, the three battalions of Col Franklin Ward's 106th Infantry of Brig-Gen Franklin Pierce's 54th Brigade attacked at dawn behind a creeping barrage with 12 tanks in support. Fighting went on all day; in some places the Doughboys reached their objectives but were driven out by counter-attacks. Because of the shortage of officers, one battalion was commanded by the Divisional Judge Advocate, Lt-Col Leslie Kincaid. Seeing a German counter-attack coming in and with no reserve available, Kincaid organised his signallers, and manning a Lewis gun himself drove the Germans out. Kincaid was awarded a British Distinguished Service Order.

Despite many acts of gallantry, the inexperienced Americans failed to carry out important tasks like clearing dugouts, and found themselves hit from behind by Germans appearing apparently from nowhere. Unfortunately, this botched operation left hundreds of Americans scattered across the ground, either wounded or holding out among the German outposts. The Germans still held three strong redoubts at Quennemont Farm, Gillemont Farm and The Knoll.

Attack at Zero

After two days of bombardment and preliminary attacks, there was no chance of surprise for the main assault, but 29 September dawned with a thick ground fog to help the attackers' smokescreen. The RAF flew overhead to drown the sound of advancing tanks, but the aircrews could see nothing beneath them—27th Division still had to cross the Outpost Line, so it set off at 0450, an hour before Zero. Because O'Ryan was unwilling to

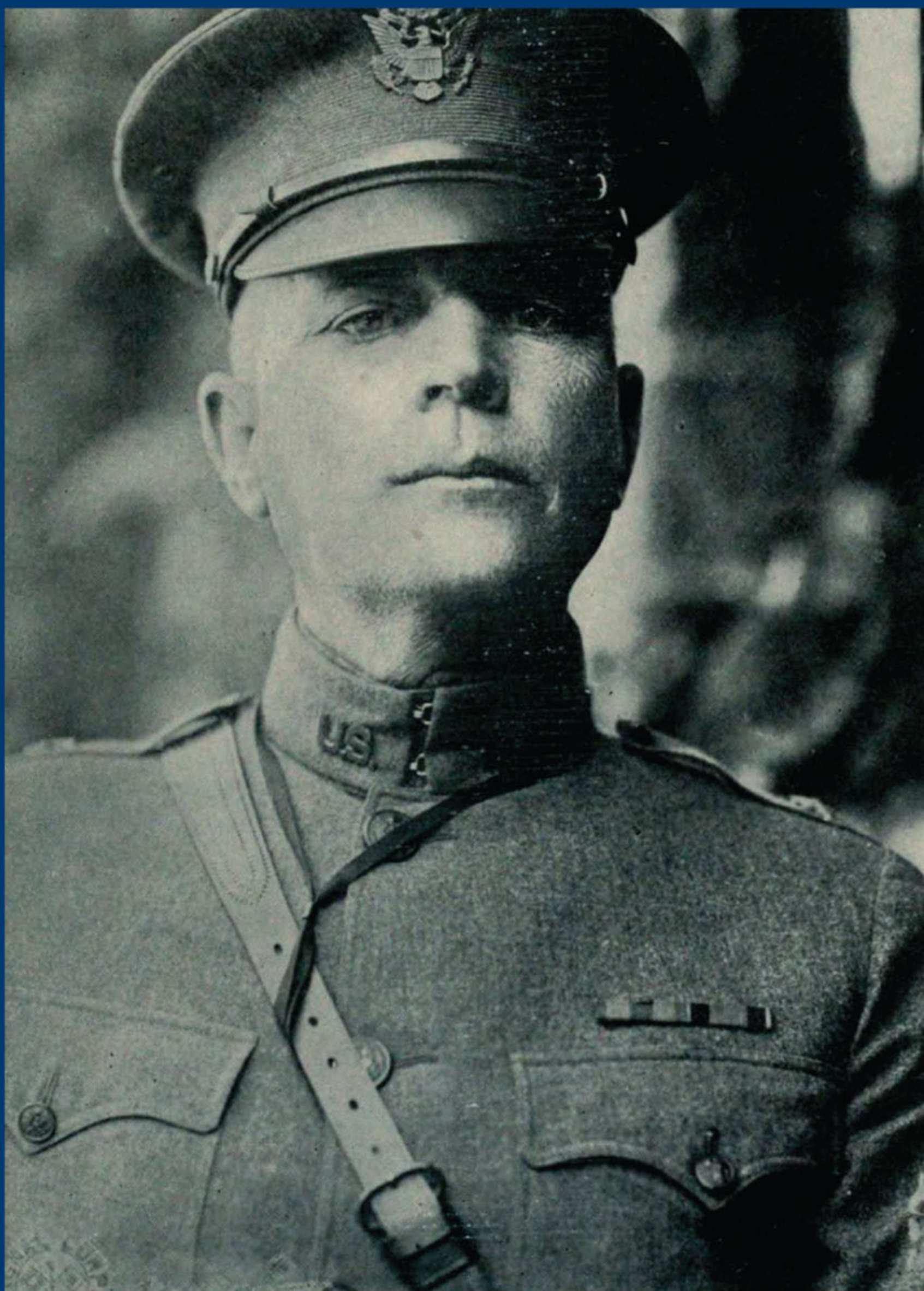
shell the ground where his wounded and holdouts were lying, the attackers went in without the protection of a barrage until they reached the Hindenburg Main Line, though they had the American tanks of the 301st Bn in support.

Unfortunately, as the 301st advanced across no-man's-land, it ran onto an unmarked minefield and lost several tanks. Before the British left the area in March 1918, they had improvised anti-tank mines using 'toffee-apple' trench mortar bombs hidden among the wire. The American tanks had run into these forgotten boobytraps. Other tanks from the 301st took direct hits from field guns or were ditched, and only a handful penetrated far into German lines.

Separated from their platoon in the smoke, three NCOs of the 107th MG Bn

(Sgts Alan Eggers, John Latham and Cpl Thomas O'Shea) heard cries for help from one of these knocked-out tanks. They ran across 30 fire-swept yards to the wreck, O'Shea being mortally wounded on the way, rescued a wounded officer and two other men from the tank, and got them into a trench. Eggers and Latham then returned to retrieve one of the tank's Hotchkiss MGs. With this, they held off the enemy until nightfall when they brought the gun and wounded back. All three men were awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor, and the two survivors also got the British Distinguished Conduct Medal.

Once again, the overeager Americans remembered to keep up with the creeping barrage but forgot Fourth Army's careful instructions to block the galleries leading to the tunnels. As they advanced over



Brigadier-General Palmer E Pierce, 54th US Brigade (GWPDA)



Mounted Australian sergeant leads an American tank through Bellicourt. (US National Archives)

Tunnel Hill towards Bony, Germans emerged from galleries and dugouts to shoot them from the flank and rear. There is a story that a note was later found in one machine gun nest reading 'Dear Tommy, from this place I shot 60 Americans with my machine gun; they came like sheep'.

Diggers mop up

Instead of leapfrogging through as planned, it took the 3rd Australian Division all day to retake the ground that the 27th thought they had captured, and no more was heard of the American parties on their way towards Bony. Nine armoured cars and a company of eight Whippets had moved off at 0900 along the road towards Bony, but found it in German occupation. After a short fight, they had lost half their vehicles, and pulled back under cover.

The 30th US Division jumped off at Zero hour (0550) behind a creeping barrage, but again the Doughboys found themselves fiercely counterattacked. Their supporting tanks suffered heavily as the smoke and fog cleared. The 5th Australian Division advanced at 0900, pushed on to Bellicourt, rescuing many of the 30th who were pinned down, and got on with mopping up and beating off German counter-attacks.

Some Australians did penetrate the second line defences. The 32nd Bn had fought its way through the mist south of Bellicourt. Its CO, Major Blair Wark, heard a tank passing in the fog, secured its help and captured two machine gun nests left 'unmopped'. He then came across 200 leaderless men of the 117th US Infantry, attached them and their supporting tanks to his force, and moved on past Nauroy. The tanks were knocked out but a company of the 32nd swept through the

edge of the village. Wark was awarded a Victoria Cross for his leadership that day.

While the 30th Australian Bn secured Nauroy, Wark and the 32nd continued south-eastwards. The country ahead seemed to be open, with just a few scattered machine guns and field guns – where had the Germans gone? Climbing a ridge, they found khaki-clad infantrymen coming up on their right—it was the 4th Leicesters. The 46th Division's 'suicide stunt' had succeeded brilliantly, forcing the Germans to retreat and 'unsticking' the stalled Australian advance. Diggers and Doughboys were exhilarated to see British tanks, artillery, transport and even field kitchens moving up over the hillsides to the south, while RAF fighters machine-gunned remaining German positions.

Suicide stunt

The extension of the attack to the right had been suggested to Rawlinson by Braithwaite, who thought that his men could scramble over the canal. Rawlinson saw it as a useful diversion, but didn't really expect success. The assault was headed by 137th Bde – the Staffordshire Brigade – under Brig-Gen John Campbell, VC. Rawlinson visited Campbell and his staff the night before, afterwards admitting that he never expected to see Campbell again.

The 46th prepared thoroughly for this amphibious operation, with petrol-tin rafts, collapsible boats, 'mud mats', lifelines and scaling ladders, together with 3000 lifebelts 'scrounged' from cross-Channel leave boats. Demonstrations were laid on to convince non-swimmers that these worked!

The plan was for 137th Bde to capture the crossings and advance as far as the 'Brown Line'. Then 139th Bde (the Notts

& Derby Brigade, composed of battalions of the Sherwood Foresters recruited in those counties) on the right and 138th Bde (the Lincoln & Leicester Brigade) on the left would continue to the 'Yellow' and 'Green Lines'. If all went well, 32nd Division would then pass through and continue the attack onto the high ground as far as the Hindenburg Reserve Line (the Beaufort Line).

At 0550 the Staffords set off, with almost a mile to go before they reached the canal. Their creeping barrage only paused for two minutes between each 100-yard 'lift' – it was more of a running barrage than a creeper, because Boyd wanted his men to rush the canal. Although fired blind, without pre-registration and in thick fog, it was described as one of the finest barrages

US insignia



The battle of St Quentin is commemorated in the insignia of several present-day US Army units. The 106th Regiment (previously the 23rd New York National Guard) includes the numeral '23' and a broken crenellated wall to represent the piercing of the Hindenburg Line. The 120th Infantry (formerly the 3rd North Carolina National Guard) includes a cactus for its Mexican border service in 1916, and a representation of the entrance portal of the Bellicourt tunnel. The 67th Armor (successor to the 301st Tank Battalion) has an erupting volcano, symbolising the encounter with the minefield. O'Ryan's 27th Division adopted a badge that included the letters 'NY' and the Constellation of Orion, a pun on its commander's name. The 27th Infantry Brigade, New York National Guard, still uses this device. (The Institute of Heraldry, US Department of the Army).



Riqueval Bridge today: the steep sides of the deep cutting are now thickly wooded.



Major-General John F O'Ryan, 27th US Division. (GWPDA)

RAF Spotters

Since July 1918, No 8 Sqn RAF (Armstrong-Whitworth FK8s) under Major Trafford Leigh-Mallory had been attached to the Tank Corps to develop cooperation, later joined by 73 Sqn (Sopwith Camels). They specialised in spotting anti-tank guns as well as contact patrols. For the St Quentin attack, two of the tank battalions detailed to cross the tunnel and then turn south arranged to have 'dropping stations' for messages from the RAF, and another station was to be set up with a wireless tank right up in the front line.

Messages dropped to this tank were in the hands of brigade HQ two hours quicker than waiting for the pilot to return to base and telephone his report. 'We were never fortunate enough to get a wireless tank on which to drop messages again, but having been used so successfully, it obviously has great possibilities,' Leigh-Mallory reported. He was right: here was the seed of the air-ground cooperation that was so important in the Normandy campaign of WW2, when Leigh-Mallory commanded the Allied air forces.

ever seen. There was also a machine gun barrage providing indirect fire over the heads of the advancing infantry.

An officer waiting in support remembered Zero: 'The crash and rattle were appalling. Sandwiched as we were, with machine guns blazing away just in front, and 18-pounders belching out fire

just behind, it was perfect pandemonium'.

The canal defences had mostly been destroyed by the heavy artillery, which maintained fire until the last possible moment. The Staffords quickly stormed the outposts and the western trench line, and reached the canal bank on time, with few casualties, and having already taken 120 prisoners. There were 1000 German dead in the trenches, mainly from machine gun bullets. German reports after the battle complained that their 'SOS barrage' was late, but in fact it came down only five minutes after Zero – indiscriminately on British and Germans alike – yet the Staffords were advancing faster than anyone had predicted.

The leading parties went over the canal with their improvised kit – and by a single plank bridge left by the Germans. One officer 'was much disgusted to find that he had swum the Canal in ice-cold water while a tiny footbridge existed within ten yards of him which had been invisible owing to the mist'. The mist protected the attackers from enfilade fire by machine guns along the canal, and they seized the Bellenglise tunnel galleries, trapping hundreds of Germans inside.

At Riqueval, they got an even bigger prize—the Germans had left the concrete bridge standing as the main supply route for their troops on the western bank. The bridge was prepared for demolition, but the Germans considered the Riqueval sector impregnable. A company of 6th North Staffs was detailed to rush the bridge before the Germans could blow

it. Captain AH Charlton and nine men dashed out of the fog, bayoneted the machine-gunners guarding the west end, and ran across the bridge in a race with the demolition party emerging from a bunker at the east end (where a memorial erected by the Western Front Association now stands). The Staffords won the race, shooting the Germans and cutting the leads to the demolition charges.

Triumph on the right

Exultantly, the Staffords reorganised on the east bank, protected by a standing barrage, before moving on at 0730. Platoon commanders used compasses to maintain direction in the fog. Some Staffords bringing back prisoners got lost, so they persuaded a captured German officer to get out his compass and guide them on a westerly bearing! By 0820, all three battalions had reached the Brown line, capturing a German battery before it could pull out.

With its now customary thoroughness, Fourth Army had issued the advancing troops with red flares and shiny tin discs to signal their position. Unfortunately, because of fog and smoke, none of this was visible to the RAF or ground observers. In the absence of wireless, and with telephone cables cut by shellfire, news travelled at the speed of a runner. Infantry divisions had long ago lost their cavalry and cyclist components of 1914, but 46th Division had improvised a 'Divisional Mounted Troop' of men from the ammunition column and field ambulances.



Colonel Franklin W Ward, 106th US Regiment. (GWPDA)

A wounded sergeant from this troop brought Boyd news that the canal was crossed, but it took him over three hours to get through. Luckily, Boyd's other two brigades had anticipated his orders and already moved off.

The engineers and divisional pioneers were laying footbridges, and the supporting brigades crossed the canal dry-shod to pass through 137th Bde and head off towards the Yellow Line at 1120. Their supporting tanks now arrived from over the tunnel, having paused to help some Americans. They crushed the wire and turned along the trenches of the Hindenburg Support Line, machine-gunning the defenders. By 1315, 5th Lincolns were in Magny-la-Fosse, and 5th Leicesters passed through to the brigade's final objective.

On the right, 139th Bde, advancing behind their barrage, encountered little opposition. 'The sight presented by the enemy defences East of the canal gave no room for doubt that our guns had done most deadly work,' said one soldier. 'The ground was literally torn to pieces, trenches and wire being blown to atoms in all directions, and there seemed to be scarcely a spot that had not been touched'.

The 8th Sherwood Foresters had to mop up Bellenglise and reached the Brown Line 10 minutes late. They immediately set off to catch up with the barrage. This battalion alone took about 300 prisoners, and its historian considered that 'There is no doubt that our bombardment had caused many of them to become more or less senseless.

In many cases all they did was to retire to their dugouts and await the end.' Two Leicester medical orderlies came back with 20 stretcher cases carried by 75 unwounded prisoners. Although machine- and field-gunners fought bravely, most German infantry were happy to be captured.

Fog burned off

By now the fog had burned off and German field guns started to hit the tanks. A steady gun layer could hardly miss the lumbering bulk of a heavy tank. It was these guns that Leigh-Mallory's aircrews were trained to spot and now they could see as well. One crew encountered heavy machine gun fire from Bony and saw the wrecked armour round the village. Finding a concentration of tanks waiting to go forward, they dropped a message and a few minutes later had the satisfaction of seeing several tanks leave the group and move forward to deal with the problem.

On the right, the Foresters realised that one German battery was actually firing from the rear – from the 'British' side of the canal beyond the limit of the attack. A party of 6th Sherwood Foresters re-crossed the canal and bayoneted or shot the gunners, who were left in the lurch by their infantry. The Foresters' CO then got the attack going again, before they lost the barrage. He was Lt-Col the Rev Bernard Vann, a public school chaplain and Derby County centre-forward before the war, now a fighting man with a Military Cross and Bar, and Croix de Guerre. Ignoring heavy fire, he ran from company to company

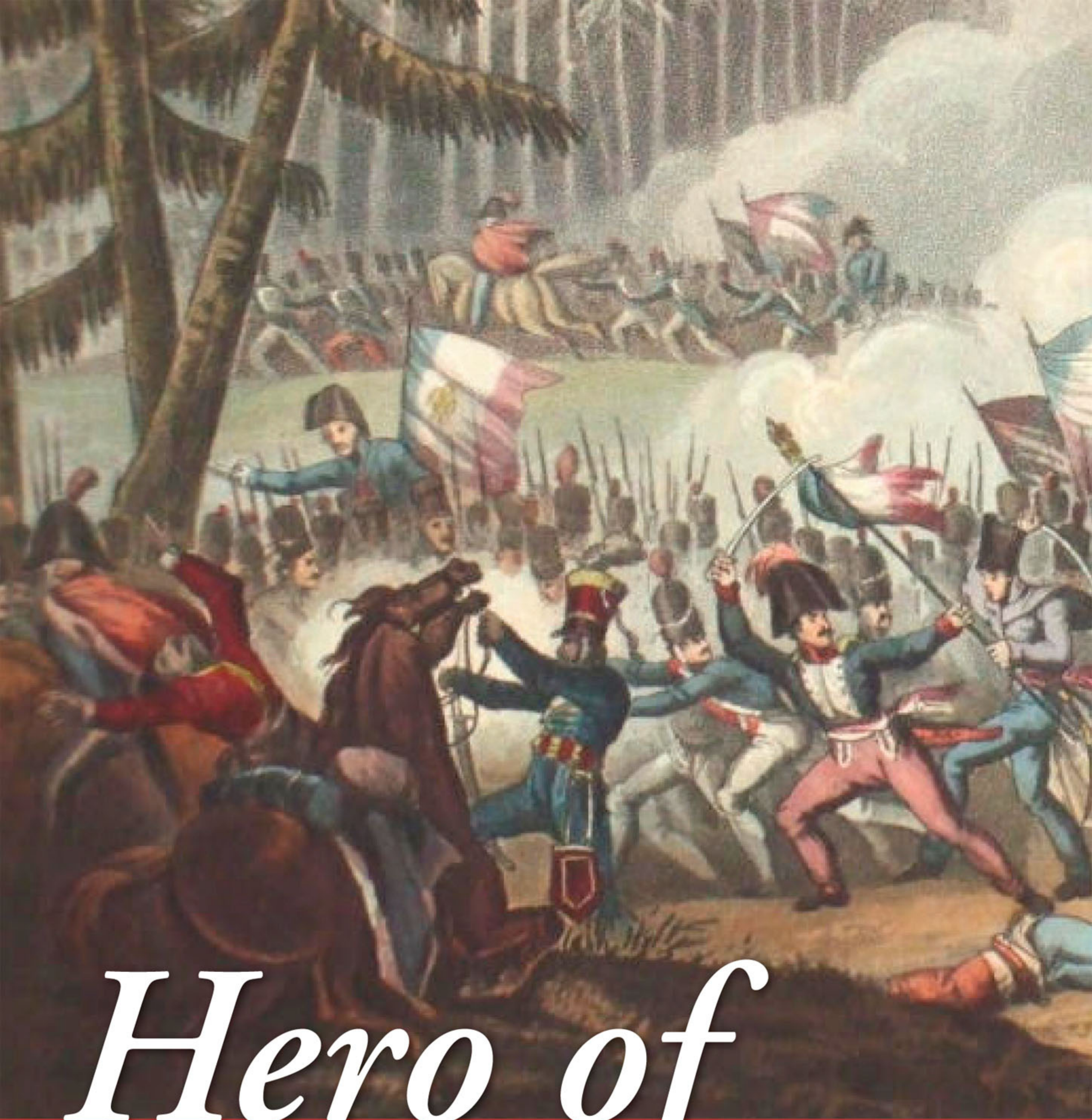
and led them onto the objective. Later, he rushed a field gun, despatching the detachment with his pistol, boot and riding crop. The fighting clergyman was awarded a VC for this day's work – posthumously, because he was killed four days later.

The sun breaking through the fog was likened by one British officer to Napoleon's sun at Austerlitz. 'Tanks could be seen working their way along the German trenches,' he said, 'followed by groups of Infantry, who at once took possession of the ground gained. Behind, guns were limbering up and being got forward to fresh positions; pack ponies and limbers were being taken up with ammunition; parties of Boche prisoners were wending their way back from the front areas ... It was like an enormous circus'.

It had been a brilliant feat of arms by the 46th Division. Both 138th and 139th brigades were on their objectives by 1530, and in total the division had taken 4200 prisoners for the loss of fewer than 800 men.

When 32nd Division crossed Riqueval Bridge, its leading brigades were up with the 46th by 1730. Their guns were ready to fire at 1800, and they set off behind their barrage as it was getting dark. It was too late in the day to reap the full benefit of the breakthrough and achieve the ambitious final objective, but 97th Bde reached most of the second objective line, assisted by Whippets. On the right flank, 14th Bde widened the breakthrough by pushing along the Le Tronquoy Ridge above Bellenglise Tunnel.

By the end of the day, IX Corps had driven a wedge some four miles deep into the Hindenburg system, which Rawlinson later used to lever open the whole position. There were still several days of fighting to break the Beaurevoir Line and complete the victory, but essentially the battle of St Quentin was won on that first day. 'Had the Boche morale not shown marked signs of deterioration during the past month I would never have contemplated attacking the Hindenburg Line,' Rawlinson said. 'Had it been defended by the Germans of two years ago, I would certainly have been impregnable and, with my Fourth Army as it is now, I would gladly defend it against any number of German divisions'. Perhaps Rawlinson sold the achievement short—the British Army had learned to combine all its assets to crack open 'impregnable' trench lines, and the assault crossing of St Quentin Canal was the most spectacular success of the Allied 'Hundred Days' campaign. Later that day, Hindenburg and Ludendorff begged their government to negotiate an armistice to avoid catastrophe •



Hero of Barrosa

Two hundred years ago, Thomas Graham distinguished himself at the battle of Barrosa, but his unconventional military career was fraught with difficulties, reveals ANDREW BAMFORD.



Contemporary view of fighting at Barrosa, showing the desperate combat between Wheatley's brigade, supported by the Anglo-Portuguese light infantry, and the French division of Leval. Graham himself personally directed this part of the battle.

It would be relatively easy to characterise the officers who served under the Duke of Wellington as conforming very much to the same stereotype—born into the Tory ascendancy; soldiers since a young age; personally brave; a strong sense of duty; good at following orders; low on initiative. There were, of course, some outrageous examples to whom none of the creditable elements could be applied, but there were only a handful who greatly

exceeded those qualities.

One of these was Thomas Graham. Joining the British Army not as a youth but at the advanced age of 44, his motivation was not restricted to a sense of duty but was fired by a personal hatred of the excesses of Revolutionary France. Never just a soldier, his diplomatic and political skills saw him advance through the ranks in a decidedly unorthodox way but ensured that when he did obtain high authority, he was well equipped to exercise

it with confidence and initiative.

Gentleman to soldier

Thomas Graham was born on 19 October 1748, on the family estate at Balgowan in Perthshire. He was the third of three brothers, but, since neither sibling survived childhood, young Thomas became the heir of the family. Accordingly, he was given a good education in the liberal tradition of the times: first at home by a tutor – the poet

James Macpherson – and then briefly at Christ Church, Oxford.

Upon the death of his father in 1767, Thomas Graham inherited the sizeable family estates, although for the moment their management was left to guardians and the young heir was sent off to complete his education by means of a Grand Tour. Upon his return, and having come fully into his inheritance, Graham sought to enter politics in support of the Whig interests espoused by his family and their connections. In this ambition he was unsuccessful, being narrowly defeated as Parliamentary candidate for Perth, but it was through his political connections that the young laird met the 16-year-old Mary Cathcart, whom he was to marry in 1774.

For the next 18 years, the Grahams lived the comfortable lives of the gentry, but Mary's health was poor, so that by the 1780s the couple were compelled to travel abroad during the winter in search of warmer climes that would better suit her constitution. Despite her frailty, Mary retained all the charms that had led to her being known as 'The Beautiful Mrs Graham', and the couple remained devoted to one another. The delicate constitution of the wife certainly did not extend to the husband, for Thomas Graham since his youth had been known as a keen huntsman and a hard rider. He was also possessed of considerable personal courage, famously facing down a highwayman who had sought to rob the carriage in which he and Mary were travelling to a ball prior to their marriage.

In 1791, Mary's health took a sharp turn for the worse, and the couple sought to improve it by a journey to the Mediterranean. Accordingly, the Grahams travelled to Nice from where they embarked on a chartered yacht. Judging by the medical advice given, a sea voyage represented a final hope for recovery, but it failed to have the desired effect and, on 26 June, whilst at anchor off Hyères, Mary Graham died. Her death, and the events that followed it, would lead to the transformation of Thomas Graham from Whig country gentleman to soldier.

Being of political views that were, for the standards of the time and his social class, fairly liberal, Graham had welcomed the outbreak of the French Revolution. To Whigs like Graham, the French were merely seeking to obtain the same liberties that had been assured to Britons by their own Glorious Revolution of 1688. But even on their travels to Nice, the Grahams had seen for themselves the evidence of the deteriorating state in France, and had encountered refugees



Defences at Cadiz, where Graham commanded the Anglo-Portuguese contingent during 1810 and 1811. The relative invulnerability of the place to land attack is obvious.

and émigrés uprooted by the changes taking place in Paris. The events following Mary Graham's death would serve to convince her grief-stricken husband that the Revolution represented a force for evil rather than good, and one that must be resisted at all costs.

Graham decided that the best way to return Mary's body to Scotland for burial was via the Canal du Midi to Bordeaux, and thence home by sea. However, on reaching Toulouse the barge on which the party were travelling was halted by the orders of the revolutionary authorities, and a detachment of the Garde National was assigned to search it in the belief that Graham was a counter-Revolutionary activist and that Mary's coffin contained smuggled weapons. Only after a party of drunken Gardes had ransacked the barge and broken open the casket was Graham's story finally accepted. This treatment, on top of what he had already witnessed, instilled in Thomas Graham a passionate hatred for the Revolution and a determination to fight it in any way that he could.

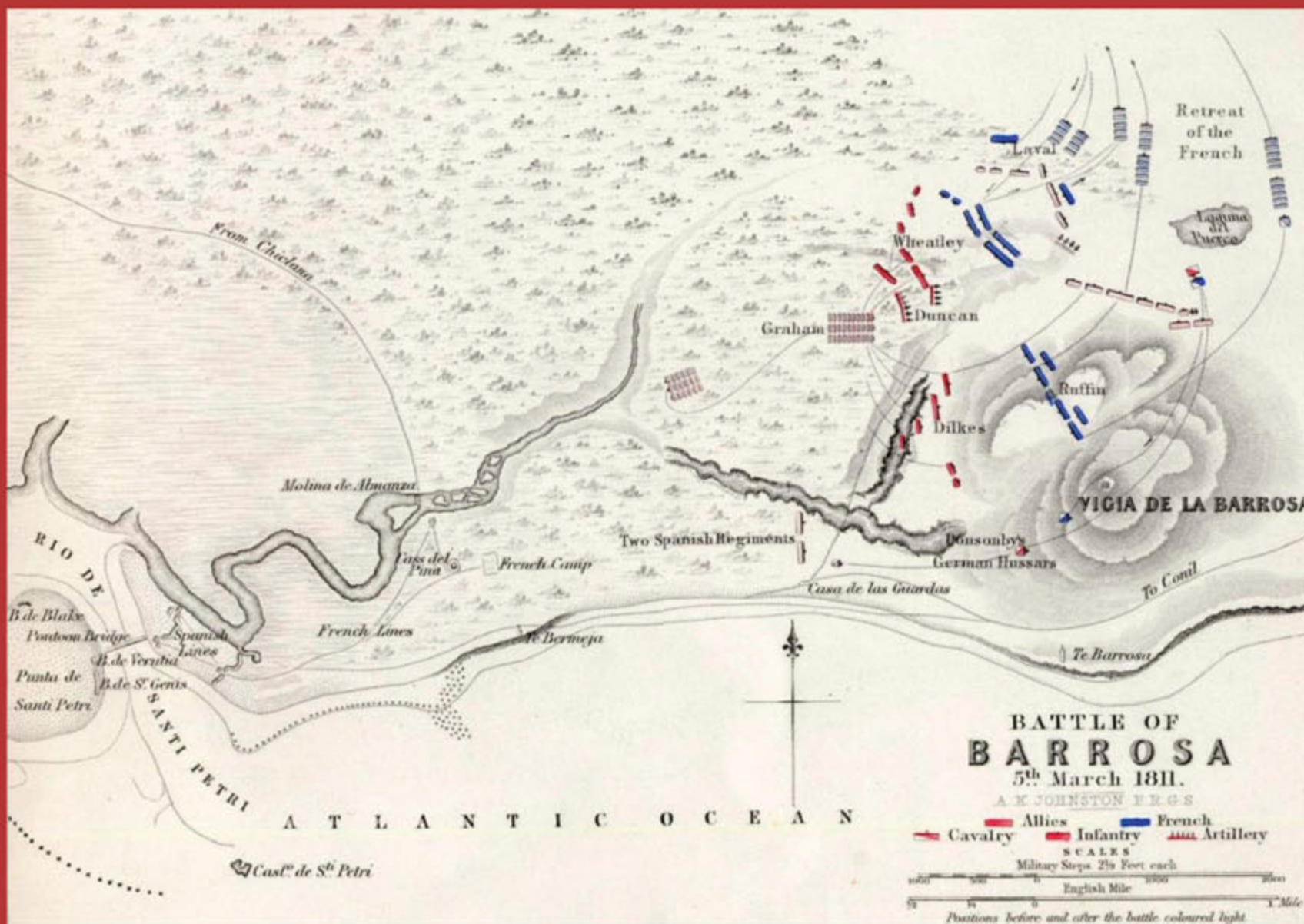
Accordingly, Graham did not remain any longer in Scotland than was necessary to oversee Mary's funeral. France having declared war on Britain in February 1793, Graham's resolve was entirely in keeping with that of his country, but it was not immediately obvious how a 44-year-old with no military experience could contribute to the struggle. In order to see something of the conflict, Graham accepted an offer from Major General Charles O'Hara to

accompany him out to Gibraltar where O'Hara was the Deputy-Governor.

Shortly after the two men arrived at the Rock, O'Hara was called upon to proceed upon more active service, taking Graham with him. Their destination was Toulon, where counterrevolutionaries had handed their city over to an Anglo-Spanish force. Troops were now being hurried to support this unexpected gain, with the command being invested in Major General Lord Mulgrave. Graham promptly volunteered his services as an extra ADC to Mulgrave, where his twin commands of French and diplomacy rendered him invaluable in negotiations with the inhabitants of Toulon. Graham also impressed Mulgrave with his courage under fire, and it was the general who first suggested to him the possibility of becoming a soldier. When Mulgrave returned to England upon being replaced by a more senior officer, Graham went with him with the intention of raising a regiment of his own.

Trapped in fortress

During the first years of the Revolutionary Wars, the British Army rapidly expanded thanks to the ruling that allowed a gentleman to obtain permanent rank in the Army relative to the number of men he could recruit. Men of wealth sought Letters of Service to raise a regiment, and thereby obtain high military rank. Citing his good connections in Perthshire, and his recent experience at Toulon, Graham was able to obtain permission to raise such a regiment, which would become the 90th



Dispositions of the troops at the battle of Barrosa, 5 March 1811, showing initial French positions and the course of Graham's counterattack.

Foot (Perthshire Volunteers).

During the course of 1794, Graham oversaw the recruitment of his new command, in which he was aided by two former comrades from Toulon: George Moncrieff, who became its Lt-Colonel, and Rowland Hill who became its Major. During this time, Graham also achieved his earlier goal of becoming MP for Perth, where he represented the Whig interest but refused to align himself with those in that party that opposed the war. All seemed to be going well, but Graham's hopes of a continued military career were now dashed by the appointment of the Duke of York as Commander-in-Chief of the Army. York had just returned from Flanders, where he had been vexed to distraction by the inadequacies of inexperienced youths of 18 or 19, whose wealth had secured them the command of battalions.

York abolished the concept of 'raising for rank' and ruled that an officer could only obtain permanent high rank by progressing through each lower grade a step at a time. Furthermore, since many officers had jumped up the ranks by buying step after step in quick succession, York ruled against this too by insisting that a set – and lengthy – time be served in each grade. Graham was neither young nor inexperienced, but he had failed to avail himself of the loopholes in the system before York closed them, and thus had no hope of retaining his colonelcy of the 90th if the regiment were to be disbanded, nor of rising any higher in the service. Graham protested, but York remained inflexible, and thus began a 15-year struggle on

Graham's part to change the Duke's mind.

When the 90th were sent to Gibraltar on garrison duty, Graham did not accompany them but used his political connections to obtain an appointment as a military observer with the Austrian army in Italy. Graham's reasoning was not only that he could serve his country more effectively in this capacity, but also that by doing so he might distinguish himself sufficiently to obtain a permanent colonelcy by way of reward. Graham joined the staff of the Austrian general Dagobert von Wurmser, and it was at his side that Graham experienced modern warfare at first hand as the Austrians were driven back by Bonaparte's Armée d'Italie.

It was clear to Graham that the ageing Austrian commanders, using tactical methods from the battlefields of Frederick the Great, could not match the youthful vigour of the French commanders, and he wrote home telling his government as much. At the same time, Graham recognised the bravery of the individual Austrian soldiers, and saw promise in rising junior officers such as the young Josef Radetzky, who became a lifelong friend.

By the second half of 1796, the fighting in Italy centred around the fortress of Mantua, which the French sought to capture. The Austrian field army had already made one attempt to break the siege, but had failed and been forced to retreat to the north. In late August, Wurmser set out to try his luck for a second time, only to be badly defeated at Bassano on 8 September. After a vigorous pursuit, the survivors – Wurmser and

Graham with them – did manage to reach Mantua but far from being able to relieve the place they were forced to take shelter inside it. Graham thus found himself trapped inside an overcrowded fortress surrounded by the French, with little hope of rescue. Having sought distinction in Italy, it now seemed more likely that he would sit out the war as a prisoner of the hated French.

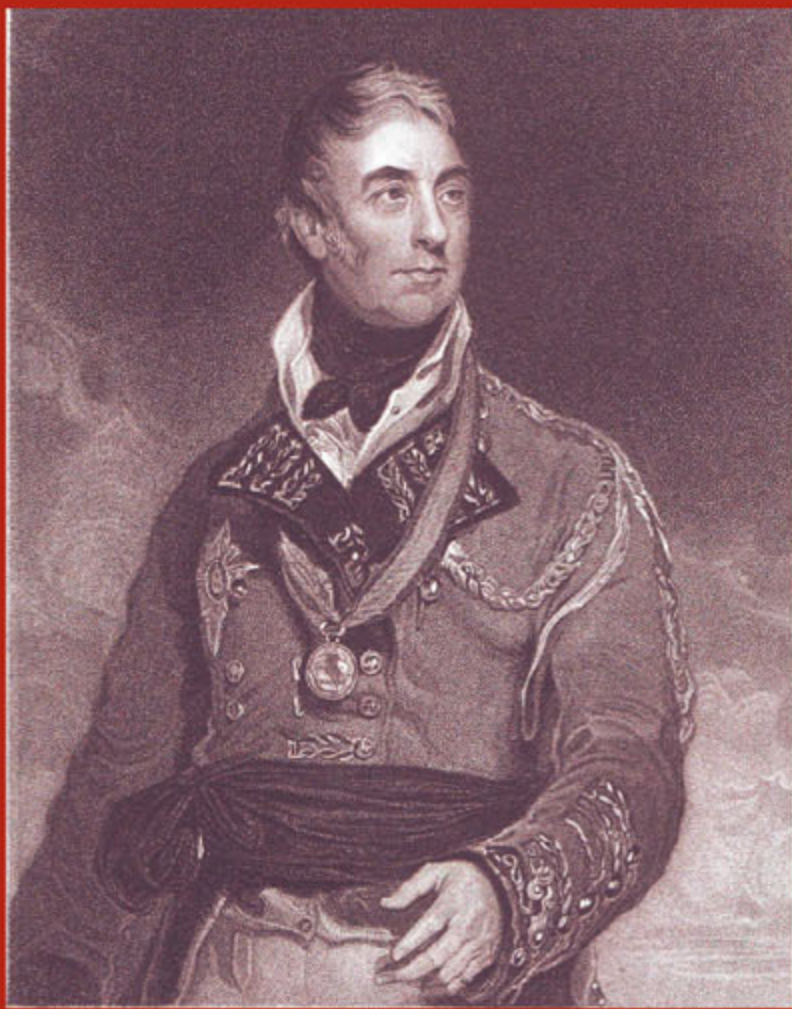
Rather than risk such a fate, Graham elected to mount an escape bid. Telling Wurmser that he could better carry out his duties as a military observer by rejoining the remnants of the Austrian field army in the Tyrol, he obtained permission to make the attempt. With Austrian assistance, he was transported by boat to the edge of the swamps surrounding Mantua. Accompanied by a single Italian guide, he picked his way through the French outposts, completing his journey by another boat ride along the Po to Padua and safety. It was an epic journey that would have tasked the nerves and constitution of a younger man, let alone one like Graham who was then in his late 40s.

On reaching Padua, Graham learnt that Austria's military position was faltering. Operations were already afoot to mount a final relief attempt towards Mantua, but Alvinczy, the new Austrian commander, led his men to defeat at Rivoli in January 1797. This rendered the surrender of Mantua inevitable, and marked the end of Graham's service with the Austrians.

Odd man out

Seeing no need to maintain an observer with a beaten army, the authorities recalled Graham to London where he arrived during the summer of 1797. The Foreign Secretary, no less, had written to express King's George's deep satisfaction with the manner in which he had performed his duties, but if Graham had hoped that the King's son would likewise recognise his merit, he was to be disappointed. Even after a continued appeal, the Duke of York refused to consider Graham's claim to have earned the right to permanent rank.

Nevertheless, Graham was Colonel of the 90th for as long as the regiment existed, and so in October 1798 he went out to Gibraltar to assume command in person, just in time to participate in a new expedition under Lt General Sir Charles Stuart. Its objective was the capture of Minorca, which was achieved in the space of eight days without serious fighting. Stuart was then called upon to assist in the defence of Sicily, where the Neapolitan court had fled following the capture of



Thomas Graham, Baron Lynedoch, GCB, KTS. Engraving by Henry Meyer after Sir Thomas Lawrence's portrait.



Gainsborough's famous portrait of 'The Beautiful Mrs. Graham' shortly after her marriage and prior to the onset of the illness that brought her life to an early close.



British officers from the later Napoleonic era. The seated figure represents the 87th Foot (Prince of Wales' Own Irish), whose second battalion was greatly distinguished at Barrosa, whilst the figure on the far left represents the 52nd Light Infantry, part of which fought under Graham during his 1814 campaign in the Netherlands.

their territories on the Italian mainland. The 90th did not go to Sicily, but Graham went as Stuart's second in command, and remained on the island commanding the two regiments that were left to help with its defence.

The post carried the local rank of Brigadier General, but this was an honour even more nebulous than Graham's temporary Colonelcy of the 90th and was soon relinquished once the appointment ended. By that time, however, Graham had not only helped with the defence of Sicily but had also taken his troops to contribute in Nelson's recapture of Malta, where he received great praise for his exertions. At length, a more senior officer was appointed to command on Malta and Graham set off to rejoin his regiment, which was now in Egypt. To his chagrin, he arrived only after the fighting there was over, but took some comfort in the fact that the 90th, under Rowland Hill's command, had distinguished themselves in every action that they took part in.

Shortly after the termination of the Egyptian campaign, a general peace was concluded as a result of the Treaty of Amiens. This led to a reduction in the Army, and placed Graham's career in jeopardy, since if the 90th Foot was disbanded then his temporary commission as its Colonel would cease and his military service would be over. His political alignment with the Whig opposition does not seem to have helped his case, and had it not been for the resumption of hostilities it seems most likely that the 90th would have been broken up and Graham cast back into civilian life.

In 1803, the 90th were sent to the West Indies, but Graham did not accompany them due to his ongoing political duties as an MP, continuing as Member for Perth until the dissolution of Parliament in 1807 when he refused to stand for re-election. In any case, the norm was for battalions to be commanded by their Lt-Colonel and Graham's temporary colonelcy was by now something of an oddity. Graham attempted instead to find military employment closer to home. A first attempt to obtain a post with the 1807 Copenhagen Expedition came to nothing, but then Lt-General Sir John Moore, alongside whom he had served in the Mediterranean, offered Graham the position of ADC.

Like Graham, Moore was also something of an odd man out in the British Army of the time, whose Whig politics caused him problems with the establishment. It may be that in Graham he recognised a fellow sufferer. Moore's

posting was to the Baltic, where a corps of 12,000 British troops had been sent to help the Swedes defend themselves against Russia, but the mission turned out to be a wild goose chase and was eventually abandoned. Moore's corps thus became available for service in the Peninsula, where Moore found himself commander-in-chief of a British army tasked with aiding the Spanish insurgency.

Moore needed an experienced officer to liaise with the Spanish armies, and Graham was the natural choice for the job. Thus, in the autumn of 1808, Graham joined the headquarters of Don Javier Castaños' Army of the Centre. Castaños had led the Spanish forces that had destroyed Dupont's French corps at Bailen earlier in the year, but despite this victory the Spanish Junta refused to accept him – or anyone else – as commander-in-chief.

As Graham discovered, the Spanish forces consisted of a series of regional armies operating in loose cooperation over an extended front. Had their sole task been to chase the defeated remnants of Napoleon's first invasion army back over the frontier, this may well have been enough. However, the Emperor himself was on his way south bringing reinforcements from the Grande Armée. Against these veterans the scattered Spanish levies and Moore's outnumbered Britons would stand little chance of victory.

Final success

The nature of the French threat became all too real for Graham on 23 November, as he witnessed the fighting around Tudela on the Ebro. Castaños had been able to combine his forces with those of Jose de Palafox's Army of Aragon, but the two armies failed to coordinate and suffered a heavy defeat by two French corps under Marshal Lannes. With Castaños ill and Palafox absent, the Spanish subordinate generals made a poor job of working together, but, even against this poor average, one divisional commander came in for particular opprobrium. This was Juan-Manuel, Conde de la Pena, who had held his command out of the fight on the far left of the Spanish line, facing only a single brigade of French cavalry, and left the rest of the Spanish forces to be defeated without him. Three years later, Graham would have cause to recall this behaviour when he and La Pena were required to cooperate in an equally desperate combat.

In the aftermath of Tudela, which, although he did not then know it, was one of a series of defeats suffered by the strung-out Spanish armies, Graham left Castaños' headquarters to rejoin Moore,



Battle of Barrosa, showing the collapse of the French lines and the fight for the eagle of the 8eme Ligne.

who had advanced as far as Salamanca. With the main French army now marching on Madrid, it was clear that the British were isolated and could do little to stem the French tide.

In an effort to achieve something worthwhile, Moore elected to march north, hoping to draw the French away from Madrid and give the Spanish time to rally and regroup. This placed Moore's command at great peril, leading to an epic retreat, through the Galician mountains, to Corunna. The conditions of the retreat sapped the strength of Moore's command, which shed stragglers by the hundreds, but Graham seemed unaffected by the cold and hardship. Although now in his 60s, he remained an excellent horseman and on one occasion was the only staff officer willing, or able, to carry out a close horseback reconnaissance of the French positions.

Upon completing their ordeal, the British found themselves forced to stand at bay before the walls of Corunna, whilst the Royal Navy made arrangements to evacuate them. On 16 January, the French under Soult launched an attack on the British positions, catching the defenders at the point where much of their cavalry and artillery had already been embarked. The result was a hard-fought infantry battle, during the course of which Sir John Moore was mortally wounded by a cannonball. Graham, riding at his side, remained unscathed but was grief-stricken at the loss of his friend and, before Moore's burial, secured a lock of the general's hair as a keepsake.

Moore's death would finally lead to Graham receiving the reward that he had worked so hard for, since the dying

general singled out Graham as one of several officers whose services during the campaign merited some form of reward. As a result, the Duke of York was finally persuaded to relent over the issue of Graham's commission, but rather than granting Graham a new permanent commission as Colonel of the 90th, York instead chose to convert Graham's temporary commission into permanent rank. However, had Graham truly held a permanent Colonelcy since 1794, he would have been promoted to Major General in 1803. To reflect this, Graham was transformed from a temporary Colonel to a permanent Major General, with six years' seniority in the higher grade.

Graham had little time to relish his final success in obtaining the appointment that he had always considered his due, since 1809 was to see Britain make a huge effort to defeat the forces of Napoleonic France. Not only was the struggle renewed in the Peninsula, but a 'Grand Expedition' was assembled to invade the Low Countries. Numbering 38,000 men under the command of the Earl of Chatham, its first objective was the French naval depot at Antwerp. Graham served with distinction, commanding a brigade and then a division, but the expedition was a failure, becoming bogged down in the malarial swamps of Walcheren Island. Eventually, the bulk of the British troops were withdrawn without ever getting near their objective, and the operation abandoned. It was not to be the last time that Thomas Graham would meet with misfortune before the walls of Antwerp, but in the meantime a new and more rewarding post was about to come his way.

Fight on his own

During late 1809, the Spanish armies in Andalusia had suffered a heavy defeat and been driven back to Cadiz, which now became the seat of the Spanish government. British aid was sought in holding the city, and troops were detached from Lisbon under Major General William Stewart. Stewart had little confidence in the defenders of Cadiz, and made no secret of his views. A commander possessing greater tact and resolution was clearly required, and Graham was chosen for the post. Arriving in March, he found himself commanding some 8,000 British and Portuguese troops, alongside 15,000 Spanish defenders.

Opposing them was a French corps under Marshal Victor, with over 20,000 men and a mass of heavy siege guns. However, Cadiz is situated on the Isla de Leon at the tip of a lengthy isthmus, and was thus practically unassailable by land. Victor had realised this by the time that Graham arrived, and had concentrated his attention on attempting to bombard the city into submission. With British troops needed elsewhere and the Spanish defenders becoming more efficient, Graham found that his command was being reduced. This was all very well if its only purpose was to help hold Cadiz, but as 1810 turned into 1811, plans were afoot to mount an allied offensive that would break the siege completely.

Since the geography of Cadiz made a direct attack on the French lines impossible, a plan was developed whereby three allied divisions would be transported by sea to Tarifa, from where they could march overland and attack the French from the rear. With the French thus distracted, more troops from Cadiz could then attack the French head-on. Command of the three expeditionary divisions was invested in the senior allied officer at Cadiz, the Conde de La Pena: two of his divisions were Spanish, and the third was formed from Graham's Anglo-Portuguese, reinforced by two battalions from Gibraltar.

Graham had seen how badly La Pena had performed in the field at Tudela, and had little faith in his abilities. Soon, Graham's fears were to be realised since La Pena became so convinced that the French would destroy his command that he insisted on marching only at night. This put the whole operation behind schedule, and it became obvious that La Pena had no real interest in attacking the French but sought only to regain the safety of Cadiz. In truth, La Pena's dawdling was making the situation

worse, since it gave the French more time to assemble their forces. Although forced to leave troops in his siege lines, Victor was able to put 11,000 men into the field against 15,000 allies and prepared a trap for La Pena, whereby one division would block the Cadiz road, whilst the other two would attack the allied flanks and drive them into the sea.

Victor's scheme did not go entirely as planned, for La Pena concentrated the bulk of his Spanish forces and was able to open the road to Cadiz on the morning of 5 March 1811. Whilst doing this, he left Graham's 5,000 Anglo-Portuguese, plus a few Spanish regiments, as a rearguard on the Cerro del Puerco, also known as the heights of Barrosa. At length, Graham was given orders to withdraw and follow La Pena, but scarcely had Graham begun to move his troops than Victor's two remaining divisions were seen to be advancing to cut him off. To continue the retreat would have exposed the allies to disaster, but the alternative – to attack the French – was almost as risky unless La Pena could be persuaded to return with reinforcements. True to form, the Spaniard thought only of himself, and left Graham to fight the battle on his own.

Graham's position was perilous. On his right was the sea, with two Spanish battalions and a handful of cavalry holding the coast road. In his centre, a small rearguard remained on the Cerro del Puerco but had no hope of holding it against Ruffin's advancing French division. On his left, where the terrain was wooded, a second French division – that of Leval – was moving to roll up his flank and rear.

Graham's only advantage was that, rather than taking the coast road, he had chosen to march the main body of his command to join La Pena by a more direct route through the woods, and by turning his men about was in a position to attack either of the two advancing French divisions. However, it was clear that if he concentrated his forces against either threat, he would leave a flank exposed to the other. Thus, he was compelled to divide his forces: Brigadier General Dilkes was ordered towards the Cerro del Puerco with his brigade of Footguards, whilst Graham himself accompanied the rest of his command to attack Leval in the woods to the northeast. In the confusion, some of Dilkes' troops ended up following Graham, and vice versa, but the allies were soon ready to launch their counterattack.

Stand-up fight

To prevent the French consolidating their position on the Cerro del Puerco,

Lt-Colonel Browne led his Flank Battalion of elite troops in a desperate charge that bought Dilkes enough time to deploy. With the second battalions of the 1st and 3rd Footguards, plus some stray companies of the 2/67th and 2/95th Rifles, Dilkes now pushed on up the heights, fending off a French counterattack and pushing on to the crest of the ridge.

At this point, Ruffin launched his last reserve – two battalions of picked grenadiers under Général de Brigade Chaudron-Rousseau – against Dilkes' command, but the British held fast and at length the French fell back. Meanwhile, the light troops under Graham's direct command – men from the 2/47th, 3/95th, and 20th Portuguese – fought their own desperate delaying action in order to allow the three battalions of Colonel Wheatley's brigade, joined by the 2/Coldstream Guards detached from Dilkes, to form up and face Leval.

The action here became a stand-up fight between two roughly equal forces, with both sides struggling desperately to gain some advantage. Graham himself was in the thick of the fighting, during which his horse was wounded and he suffered heavy bruising in the resulting fall. Even French accounts pay tribute to his continued calmness and the collected manner in which he directed the fight. In the end, the deadlock was broken by Major Hugh Gough of the 2/87th, who led his battalion in a charge against the French 8eme Ligne.

After a hand-to-hand combat, the French regiment was broken, losing its Eagle to Sergeant Masterman of the 87th, who would later receive a commission in reward for his feat. By this time, Ruffin's defeated men were streaming back from the Cerro del Puerco, and Leval likewise gave up the contest and withdrew. With so little cavalry, and no help from the Spanish, Graham could not pursue and thus the fighting came to an end.

Barrosa was the crowning achievement of Graham's military career, but strategically the battle achieved little. La Pena's timidity ensured that the French siege operations went on without interruption, and Graham, his patience at an end, now refused to serve any longer under such a commander. Thankfully, Graham was not alone in realising La Pena's flaws, and the latter was soon relieved of command. Graham too would soon leave Cadiz, although under altogether better circumstances.

In July 1811, Graham was posted to Wellington's main field army in Portugal as commander of its First Division.

This appointment, which was made at Wellington's request, carried with it the de facto position of second-in-command. Unfortunately, at this point in his career, Graham's health now began to deteriorate. In particular, he began to suffer from eye complaints that stemmed from having contracted opthalmia during the Corunna campaign. Nevertheless, he remained an active rider and sportsman, and was instrumental in the organisation during the winter of 1811-1812 of a pack of foxhounds so that the British generals could enjoy their favourite sport. Not one to do things by halves, he was even able to find a soldier who had once been a master of foxhounds, and kitted the man out in full hunting pink to muster the pack.

Dogs seem to have featured considerably in Graham's life – there is one in the earliest known portrait of him – and one of the spoils of Barrosa was a poodle that had been found on the battlefield guarding its dying master, the French general Chaudron-Rousseau. Graham adopted the dog, which he christened Muchacho, and declared that since his youth he had 'never had a dog that I car'd for so much'.

Hopeless command

As a result of his health, Graham was forced to relinquish his command during the summer of 1812, and thus missed the chance to play a part in Wellington's great triumph at Salamanca. It was not until May 1813 that he returned to the Peninsula, where he was nominally again to command the First Division. In fact, day-to-day command of the division was left to another officer, with Graham instead commanding the whole Left Wing of the army: the First and Fifth Divisions of infantry, plus assorted independent brigades.

In the aftermath of Vittoria, Wellington led his army north to drive the last of the French troops over the Pyrenees but detached Graham's command to take the important fortress of San Sebastián on the Biscay coast. Because the French were able to supply the place by sea, there was no alternative but to storm the place, but the citadel was built up on an isolated rock that was partially surrounded by sea. Only by assaulting across the mudflats at low tide could the attackers reach the breaches that their siege guns had made in the walls.

Under these extreme conditions, a first attempt to storm the fortress on 25 July ended in failure. Only when a second attack, led by picked reinforcements, was launched on 31 August was success eventually achieved, although only at the cost of heavy casualties. Graham's



Surrender of Mantua, in February 1797, was one of the several defeats suffered by the Austrian forces in Italy during Graham's time as a military observer with them. Graham himself, however, made a daring escape from the fortress.

personal intervention may well have contributed to the victory. Seeing that the situation in the breaches remained in doubt, Graham ordered his siege guns to reopen fire, shooting directly over the heads of his own troops. This cannonade blasted the French defenders from the walls, and allowed the survivors from the allied storming parties to fight their way into the town.

Whilst Graham had been taking San Sebastián, Wellington had been defeating Soult in the battles of the Pyrenees and was now able to advance into France. Graham's corps rejoined the main army, and again formed its Left Wing during the battle of the Bidassoa on 7 October, where the British army entered France for the first time since its ejection from Toulon 20 years previously. Graham's military career had begun with the one, and now seemed to be coming to an end at the other, for his worsening health and eye problems forced him again to return to England. Sadly, though, political demands would add a bitter coda to a career that was otherwise crowned with success.

In late 1813, an insurrection broke out in the Netherlands, calling for the return of the House of Orange and the end of

French rule. In order to aid the insurgency, but primarily to ensure that the area remained in their sphere of influence, the British Government scraped together an army to go to the Low Countries and Graham, although newly returned from the Peninsula, was asked to take command. Driven by a sense of duty, he accepted the post against his better judgement, for the force he was given was weak and inexperienced and his task – capturing Antwerp – had thwarted even the 'Grand Expedition' of 1809. In the event, Graham was successful in a minor action at Merxem on 13 January 1814, but could not take Antwerp without Prussian help, and failed in an attempt to take the smaller fortress of Bergen-op-Zoom by storm on the night of 8 March (see MI238).

Only with the coming of peace was Graham able to negotiate an entry into Antwerp after the French had evacuated the place, and this would prove to be his final service in the field. The fact that he had been driven by duty to accept such a hopeless command was widely recognised, and the Prince Regent went so far as to say that the manner of his defeat at Bergen-op-Zoom did him greater credit than his victories in the Peninsula. It was

as a result of the latter, however, that he was raised to the peerage along with the other senior members of Wellington's command team, being created Lord Lynedoch on 3 May 1814.

Graham remained in retirement from then on, playing no part in the campaign of Waterloo, but his retirement was hardly sedentary since he travelled extensively through Europe and continued with his hunting and other outdoor pursuits. Unlike Wellington, who built himself a political career at the expense of severing ties with many old comrades, Graham remained in close touch with many of those who had served with him, and was instrumental in the founding of what would become the United Service Club in London, which was founded expressly for former and serving officers to meet and socialise.

Graham was still travelling, aged 95, in 1843, but in the December of that year he caught a cold during a visit to Hastings and this finally brought about the illness that led to his death on 18 December. Although a public funeral was offered, his family chose to respect his wish that he be laid to rest at Balgowan, alongside his beloved wife with whom he was thus reunited after some 52 years •



HITLER'S WARSAW TRIUMPH

Stalin's Red Army swept all before them in the summer of 1944, until Hitler stopped them dead in their tracks before Warsaw. Or was Stalin simply playing a political game with the Polish people? ANTHONY TUCKER-JONES examines the evidence.



T-34/76 Soviet tanks—on 27 July 1944, some 500 Soviet tanks struck to the south of the Polish capital and within two days had reached the suburbs.

In just five weeks of bitter fighting during the summer of 1944, General Konstantin Rokossovsky's troops stormed over 450 miles and were within reach of Warsaw. The Polish capital looked a tempting prize for Soviet leader Joseph Stalin as a culmination of Operation Bagration's remarkable success, but his summer offensive was beginning to lose momentum. Rokossovsky's 1st Byelorussian Front was at the very limit of its supply lines; ammunition and rations were exhausted, as were his men.

At this stage, Rokossovsky enjoyed a three to one superiority in infantry and five to one in armour and artillery. He had at his disposal nine armies: one tank army, two tank corps, three cavalry

corps, one motorised corps and two air armies. Against this, Field Marshal Walter Model's 2nd Army could muster four under strength panzer divisions and one infantry division, while 9th Army had just two divisions and two brigades of infantry.

In many ways, Hitler's defence of Warsaw echoed that of Minsk, the eastern approaches of the Polish capital were protected by a 50-mile ring of strongpoints. The only difference was that this time Model had sufficient mobile reserves with which to parry Rokossovsky's thrusts. He had gathered sufficient men to thwart Rokossovsky's oncoming tide. Model's defences coalesced around five weak panzer divisions with around 450 tanks and self-propelled guns. Over the next week, events would start to go badly wrong for Rokossovsky and his men would experience their first major setback.

Stalin's lie

Rokossovsky's Lublin-Brest Offensive was conducted from 18 July-2 August as a follow up to Bagration and to support General IS Konev's Lvov-Sandomierz offensive by tying down German forces in central-eastern Poland, culminating in the bloody battle of Radzymin. To the north of Konev's 1st Ukrainian Front, Rokossovsky's 8th Guards, 47th and 69th armies supported by the 2nd Tank Army and the Polish 1st Army struck from the Kovel area towards Lublin and Warsaw, thereby making Army Group North Ukraine's position untenable.

It seemed appropriate to Stalin that eastern Poland be liberated as part of Byelorussia, as that is how Hitler had treated it. For administrative purposes, regions of German occupied Poland had been lumped in with western Byelorussia. When Hitler divided Poland with Stalin in 1939, he also annexed the area south west of East Prussia (Wartheland) to the Reich, while the Reichkommissariat of 'Ostland' (an area incorporating Minsk and the Baltic States) and 'Ukraine' governed parts of eastern Poland, while the rump in the middle was run as the 'Generalgouvernement.'

General Zygmunt Berling's Soviet trained Polish 1st Army had reinforced Rokossovsky during the spring of 1944. This in fact was the second Polish army to be formed in the Soviet Union and was the military wing of the so-called Union of Polish Patriots, which had come into being with Stalin's approval in 1943. The earlier Army of General Wladyslaw Anders had managed to

slip Stalin's grasp in 1942, getting itself redeployed to fight with the British in the Middle East and Italy.

Berling was ordered to cross the Vistula at Pulawy on the 31st on a wide front to support other elements of the Soviet 69th and 8th Guards armies crossing near Magnuszew. Two Polish divisions gained the west bank on 1 and 2 August, but by the 4th had suffered 1,000 casualties and were ordered to withdraw. They were then assigned to protect the northern part of the Magnuszew bridgehead.

By 29 April, when Berling joined Rokossovsky, he had 104,000 men under arms, comprising five infantry divisions, a tank brigade, four artillery brigades



This T-34/85 tank crew had every reason to be confident by the summer of 1944; the Red Army had smashed Hitler's Army Group Centre and the Eastern Front had all but collapsed.

and an air wing. Many recruits were former PoWs from 1939 and saw it as a way of getting home, though Stalin kept them on a tight political leash. Berling like Rokossovsky was a career soldier, having served with the Austrian and Polish armies. The fact that Stalin had spared him and that he had not stayed with Anders made him appear a turncoat to many of his countrymen. Berling was also given the onerous task of endorsing Stalin's lie that Hitler had perpetrated the massacre of Polish officers in Katyn Forest.

When Poland was partitioned by Stalin and Hitler under the non-aggression Pact of 1939, 130,000 Polish officers and men immediately fell into the hands of the Red Army. Stalin had a long memory and a score to settle with the Poles—in 1920



Germans clamber over a captured T-34/76. Hitler's Warsaw counter-attack not only destroyed the Soviet 3rd Tank Corps, but also badly mauled two other tank corps. In total, the Red Army lost about half its tank force during the bitter battles before Warsaw.

they had defeated the Red Army. Also, he wanted to destroy the basis for any future opposition to the Soviet occupation of eastern Poland, which would act as a buffer against post-war Germany.

In 1939, Stalin had acted swiftly and brutally. He rounded up every Polish officer in his part of pre-war Poland (now the western Ukraine and western Byelorussia) and in early 1940 he ruthlessly organised their slaughter. In April-May 1940, 15,000 Polish officers and policemen were evacuated from camps at Kozielski, Starobielsk and Ostachkov and turned over to the NKVD in the Smolensk, Kharkov and Kalinin regions. With Hitler's invasion of the USSR, the Polish government in exile signed an agreement with Moscow, the provisions included raising a Polish Army in the Soviet Union. However, of the 15,000 Polish officers held by the Soviets only 350-400 reported for duty. Like the Kulaks and Red Army officers before them, the Polish officer class had been ruthlessly butchered.

Stalin's duplicity in his treatment of Poland and the Polish Army knew no bounds. In December 1941, Generals

Wladyslaw Sikorski and Anders and the Polish Ambassador met with Stalin to discuss the issue of the whereabouts of approximately 4,000 named Polish officers who had been deported to Soviet prisons and labour camps. Stalin initially claimed rather disingenuously they had escaped to Manchuria. He then changed tact suggesting they had been released, adding, 'I want you to know that the Soviet Government has not the slightest reason to retain even one Pole.' What he meant was even one living Pole.

In April 1943, Hitler announced he had found the mass grave of up to 4,000 Polish officers in the forest of Katyn near Smolensk. The Germans continued to dig, unearthing an estimated 10,000 bodies and Hitler set up a Committee of Inquiry, which 'proved' the Poles had been shot in 1940 by Stalin's NKVD. Stalin dismissed the claim as propaganda calling it 'revolting and slanderous fabrications.'

Hitler's discovery had strained even further Soviet-Polish relations, allowing Stalin to undermine the validity of the Polish government in exile in London as a prelude to establishing a Communist government in Warsaw. On retaking

Smolensk, Stalin set up his own commission, which stated categorically that the men had been killed in 1941 whilst road building for the Germans. As far as Stalin was concerned, Poland came within his sphere of influence and he had every intention of it remaining so.

Under Fire in Warsaw

In mid-1944, north of Warsaw, Model turned to Heinrich Himmler's Waffen-SS for assistance in stabilising the front. The remnants of the 1st SS and 2nd SS Panzer Divisions had been shipped west after their mauling in the Kamenets-Podolsk Pocket to re-equip and prepare for the anticipated Anglo-American landings in France. However, the tough 3rd SS and 5th SS Panzer Divisions remained in Romania and Poland rearming.

The 3rd SS was notified to move north as early as 25 June, but the disruption to the rail networks and roads meant that it took two weeks to get to northeastern Poland. Arriving on 7 July, it found the Red Army was already striking toward the Polish city of Grodno, threatening the southern flank of Army Group Centre's 4th Army and the northern



Advancing T-34/76s. East of Warsaw, a single panzer division and infantry division held at bay two Soviet tank corps, while four panzer divisions prepared to strike back.



The Red Army ran headlong into five panzer divisions in eastern Poland and suffered heavy losses as a result. This particular T-34/76, judging by its road wheels, caught fire.



While, at long range, the Tiger I had nothing to fear from the T-34, once superior Soviet numbers closed in, it was an entirely different matter.

flank of 2nd Army.

Deployed to Grodno, the 3rd SS were given the task of creating a defensive line for 4th Army to retire behind. Spectacularly, the division held off 400 Soviet tanks for 11 days before withdrawing southwest toward Warsaw. Joined by the Hermann Göring Panzer Division at Siedlce, 50 miles east of the Polish capital, they held the Red Army for almost a week from 24 July, keeping open an escape corridor for 2nd Army as it fled toward the Vistula. Three days later, the Red Army threw almost 500 tanks to the south and by the 29th was in the suburbs of Warsaw.

The 5th SS arrived in western Warsaw on 27 July and trundled through the troubled city to take up positions to the east. The next day, Stalin ordered Rokossovsky to occupy Praga, Warsaw's suburbs on the eastern bank of the Vistula, during 5-8 August and to

establish a number of bridgeheads over the river to the south of the city.

As instructed, the Soviet 2nd Tank Army and 8th Tank Corps attacked westward along the Warsaw-Lublin road toward Praga. About 40 miles southeast of Warsaw in the Garwolin area, 2nd Tank was opposed by two advanced battalions, of General Fritz Franek's 10,800 strong 73rd Infantry Division. Holding the north bank of the Swidra river, they were backed up by the Hermann Göring Panzer Division, 12 miles east of Praga.

In addition, four panzer divisions (3rd SS, 5th SS, 4th and 19th), poised to counter attack, now defended the approaches to the Polish capital. The men of 19th Panzer were veterans of the Eastern Front having fought on the central and southern sectors from June 1941 to June 1944, before being shipped to the Netherlands for a refit.

Hasso Krappe, an officer with 19th Panzer, recalled the fighting around Warsaw: 'After the defeat of Army Group Centre in the middle of July, my division (the Lower Saxon 19th Panzer Division) was sent by train from southern Holland to a base in the Karvitse region near Elk. Before all the units were gathered, we were ordered to march in a southwesterly direction to set up a bridgehead to the east of Praga. Yet after the arrival of the last transports from Holland, my regiment [73rd Hanoverian] was once again despatched by rail to Warsaw's Danzig Station. This was on 1 August.

'It was an entirely different story for the remainder of our division, which on 3 August was supposed to reach the Varka from the other side of the Vistula, via Praga. They suffered heavy losses. As the armoured column of the third company passed the main station in Warsaw, it came under such intense fire that it could

not continue, and its commander decided to reverse and seize the station instead. He and his soldiers remained there for close on two months. His column only rejoined the [division] on 2 October.'

Poised to assault

Franek's division had endured a rough time during its career, having taken part in the invasions of Poland, the Low Countries, France and Greece before entering the Soviet Union via Romania. It fought at Nikoloayev, Cherson, Sevastopol and the Kuban bridgehead. Suffering heavy losses near Melitopol, the 73rd Infantry was withdrawn only to be trapped by the Red Army in Sevastopol in May 1944 and reformed June in Hungary under Franek.

Franek's men and the Hermann Göring bore the brunt of the powerful attacks launched by two Soviet Tank Corps. Garwolin was partially captured during the night 27/28 July and the 73rd fell back. Despite the presence of elements of 19th Panzer and the Hermann Göring, by noon on the 29th the Soviet 8th Tank Corps had secured Kolbiel and Siennica. About 26 miles from Warsaw at Minsk Mazowiecki Lieutenant-General ND Vedenev's 3rd Tank Corps broke the Germans defences and at Zielonka General Franek and some of his staff were captured.

Brest-Litovsk fell to Rokossovsky on 28 July and with his troops at Garwolin three German divisions tried to escape toward Siedlce southeast of Warsaw. They were surrounded between Biala and the river and crushed with 15,000 killed and just 2,000 captured. In Moscow, Stalin and his commanders were very pleased with Rokossovsky's efforts and on the 29 July he was nominated a Marshal of the Soviet Union.

Captured German documents showed that the 5th SS reconnaissance unit was deployed near Minsk Mazowiecki; units of Hermann Göring and the 73rd Infantry were holding the Cechowa and Otwock sector of Warsaw's outer defences; 19th Panzer was defending the approaches to Praga and the 3rd SS were in the Okuniew and Pustelnik suburban areas.

When the 2nd Tank Army's 16th Tank Corps struck toward Otwock along the Lublin road, 19th Panzer counter-attacked with 40 panzers and an infantry regiment, but were unable to hold and by the evening the Soviets were a mere 15 miles from Warsaw. They were now poised to assault the key defences of Okuniew. The 8th Tank Corps opened the attack only to be stalled by

determined German air and artillery fire.

In the meantime, Vedenev, bypassing German defences, drove them from Wolomin and Radzymin, just 12 miles northeast of Warsaw where he took up defensive positions along the Dulga River. Having outstretched his supply lines and outrun the rest of the Soviet 2nd Tank Army, Vedenev was in a dangerously exposed position. The 39th Panzer Corps was in the area and the panzer divisions were coming together in the direction of Radzymin-Wolomin.

Rokossovsky forces were quick to react to this threat and attempted to alleviate the pressure on Vedenev with a diversionary attack. At dawn on the 31st, followed by heavy air and artillery bombardment, the Soviet 8th Tank Corps threw themselves at the Germans who fell back toward Okuniew. The 5th SS counter-attacked in a westerly direction with 50 panzers from Stanislawow in an effort to link up with the Hermann Göring and 19th Panzer who were fighting a tank battle with the Soviets at Okuniew and Ossow.

The 5th SS were repulsed and on the evening of 31st the Soviets took Okuniew, but could not budge the enemy from their strongpoint at Osso. North of the Soviet 8th Tank Corps, the 3rd Tank remained unsupported and like the 16th Corps endured a day of heavy attacks from German armour, artillery and infantry. The commander of the

Soviet 2nd Army was in an impossible position—his units were enduring heavy casualties, he was short of supplies and his rear was under threat.

Attacking from forests

Rokossovsky simply could not fulfil his orders to break through the German defences and enter Praga by 8 August—it was simply not possible. On the 1st at 16.10 hours, he ordered the attack to be broken off just as Model launched his major counter-attack. On the 2nd, all Red Army forces that were assaulting Warsaw were redirected. The 28th, 47th and 65th Armies were directed northwards to seize the undefended town of Wyszaków and the Liwiec river line. Crucially, this left 2nd Tank Army without infantry support. This situation was compounded when 69th Army was ordered to halt while the 8th Guards Army under Vasily Chuikov ceased the assault to await a German attack from the direction of Garwolin.

Model began to probe the weak spot in Rokossovsky's line between Praga and Siedlce. His intention was to hit the Soviets in the flank and the rear, and, soon, to the northeast of Warsaw the 39th Panzer Corps was counterattacking the 3rd Tank Corps and forcing it back to Wolomin. The 3rd SS, Hermann Göring and 4th and 19th Panzer Divisions struck south into the exposed Soviet columns. The Hermann Göring's 1st Armoured



German anti-tank gun en route to the Eastern Front – German defences to the east of Warsaw were to give the Red Army a very nasty surprise and represented the high tide of their summer offensives.



Paratroop Regiment launched their attack from Praga toward Wolomin on the 31st, heralding the much larger effort to halt the Red Army in its steps before Warsaw. While from the southwest along the Warsaw-Wyszków road attacking toward Radzymin came the 19th Panzer. From Wyszków, 4th Panzer acted in support.

The next day, from Wegrow pushing toward Wolomin came the panzers of the 5th SS. At the same time, the 3rd SS was launched into the fray from Siedlce towards Stanislawow with the intention of trapping those Soviet units on the northeastern bank of the Długa. General Nikolaus von Vormann, appointed by Guderian to command 9th Army, bringing up reinforcements from 2nd Army's reserves also launched a counter-attack. Using men of the 5th SS and 3rd SS attacking from the forests to the east of Michalow, he drove the Soviet 8th Tank Corps from Okuniew at 21.00 hours on 1 August and linked up with 39th Panzer Corps from the West.

By the 2nd, the 19th followed by 4th Panzer were in Radzymin and the Soviet 3rd Tank Corps was thrown back towards Wolomin. The following day, the Hermann Göring Panzer Division rolled into Wolomin. Pressed into the area of Wo_omin, Vedenev was completely trapped. Attempts by the 8th Guards Tank Corps and the 16th Tank Corps to reach him failed, with the former suffering serious casualties in the attempt.

After a week of heavy fighting, the Soviet 3rd Tank Corps was surrounded: 3,000 men were killed and another 6,000 captured. The Red Army also lost 425 of the 808 tanks and self-propelled guns they had begun the battle with on 18 July. By noon on the 5th, the Germans had ceased their counter-attack and the battle for the Praga approaches had come to an end. Two German divisions had to be transferred south to deal with the Soviet threat there.

Vedenev's corps was destroyed and the 8th Guards Tank Corps and the 16th Tank Corps had taken heavy losses. The exhausted Soviet 2nd Tank Army handed over its positions and withdrew to lick its wounds. Post war communist propagandists cited the battle of Radzymin as evidence that the German counter-attack prevented the Red Army from helping the Warsaw Uprising. Stalin clearly did not hold Vedenev responsible. He remained in charge and the 3rd Tank Corps was honored by being designated the 9th Guards Tank Corps in November 1944.

Warsaw uprising

It was not until 25 August that Rokossovsky would inform Stalin that he was ready to have another go at Warsaw. After such heavy fighting northeast of the Polish capital, it is easy to see why Stalin saw the Polish Home Army's Warsaw rising of little consequence to the overall

strategic scheme of things.

General Tadeusz Bor-Komorowsky commander of the underground Polish Home Army, ordered his men to rise up against the German occupation of Warsaw on 1 August. In stark contrast, Rokossovsky was ordered to go over to the defensive and watch the Germans systematically crush the Poles for two whole months. Likewise, the Red Air Force, which was just 100 miles away did very little. At Kraków, the capital of the 'Generalgouvernement,' the Wehrmacht garrison was 30,000 strong, twice that of Warsaw which had a much bigger population. In addition, there were some 10,000 armed German administrators in the city. As a result, there was no secondary Home Army rising in Kraków.

Just 12 miles south of Warsaw, Chuikov's 8th Guards Army crossed the Vistula on 1 August at Magnuszew. He held onto his tiny bridgehead despite determined counter-attacks. By the 8th, the bridgehead contained three Soviet corps. Holding the northern shoulder of the bridgehead preventing the Soviets from expanding it was a Volksgrenadier Brigade and a battalion of panzers, while to the south were the 17th Infantry Division.

On the morning of the 2nd, Rokossovsky went to view the Polish capital and got a good indication of the Polish Home Army's efforts. 'Together with a group of officers,' he recalled, 'I was visiting the 2nd Tank Army, which was fighting on that sector of the front. From our observation point, which had been set up at the top of a tall factory chimney, we could see Warsaw. The city was covered in clouds of smoke. Here and there houses were burning. Bombs and shells were exploding. Everything indicated that a battle was in progress.'

Why did Rokossovsky not try for a bridgehead at Warsaw if the Red Army had established footholds at Magnuszew, Pulawy and on the upper Vistula near Sandomierz? To have done so would have been far tougher than in the Radom region way to the south; Sandomierz had cost them dearly, plus Stalin saw Warsaw as anchoring the Germans line on the Narev and Bobr and in turn East Prussia and knew they would fight bitterly to defend this. Without the Baltic States secured, Hitler could strike from East Prussia against the flank and rear of the Red Army once it was advancing beyond the Vistula.

Also by now Rokossovsky was facing 22 enemy divisions; this included four security divisions in the Warsaw suburbs, three Hungarian divisions on the Vistula

south of Warsaw and the remains of six or seven divisions which had escaped from the chaos of Belostok and Brest-Litovsk. At least eight divisions were identified fighting to the north of Siedlce, among them two panzer and three SS panzer or panzergrenadier divisions. In reality, Stalin was waiting in the wings with his own Polish Government and armed forces.

Marshal Zhukov blamed Bor-Komorowski for a lack of cooperation with the Red Army: 'As was established later, neither the command of the Front [Rokossovsky] nor that of Poland's 1st Army [Berling] had been informed in advance by Bor-Komorowski, the leader of the uprising, about forthcoming events in Warsaw. Nor did he make any attempt to coordinate the insurgents' actions with those of the 1st Byelorussian Front. The Soviet Command learned about the uprising after the event from local residents who had crossed the Vistula. The Stavka had not been informed in advance either. On instructions by the Supreme Commander, two paratroop officers were sent to Bor-Komorowski for liaison and coordination of actions. However, Bor-Komorowski refused to receive the officers. I have ascertained that our troops did everything they possibly could to help the insurgents, although the uprising had not been anyway coordinated with the Soviet command.'

In light of Rokossovsky's efforts to the northeast and southeast of Warsaw in the face of the tough Waffen-SS, this is largely true. In Warsaw, General Reiner Stahel's 12,000-strong garrison included 5,000 regular troops, 4,000 Luftwaffe personnel (over a quarter of whom were manning the air defences) and the 2,000 strong Warsaw security regiment. Wehrmacht forces in the immediate area numbered up to 16,000 men, with another 90,000 further afield.

Lowest of the low

With the Wehrmacht fully tied up fending off Soviet attacks, it was left to the SS to stamp out the Polish uprising. Police and SS units totalled 5,710 men under SS-Standartenführer Paul Geibel supported by 3,500 factory and rail guards. Geibel also managed to scrounge four Tiger tanks, a Panther tank, four medium tanks and an assault gun off the 5th SS to strengthen his forces. A motley battle group under SS-Gruppenführer Heinz Reinefarth, supported by 37 assault guns and a company of heavy tanks was assembled to crush the Polish Home Army in Warsaw.

SS reinforcements included SS-

Brigadeführer Bratislav Kaminski's hated Russian National Liberation Army Brigade, numbering 1,585 Cossacks and Ukrainians. Kaminski supported SS-Oberführer Oskar Dirlewanger's anti-partisan brigade some 3,381 strong. This consisted of two battalions of 865 released criminals, three battalions of former Soviet PoWs, two companies of gendarmes, a police platoon and an artillery battery. Additionally, Colonel Wilhelm Schmidt supplied 2,000 men drawn from his 603rd Regiment and a grenadier and police battalion.

Army Group Centre was to have a limited role in fighting the Warsaw uprising. General Vormann commanding 9th Army sent 1,000 men to Praga to help hold the Poniatowski Bridge, an additional three battalions were also sent to help to assist the Hermann Göring regiment clearing a way through the city to the Kierbedz Bridge.

All the forces in Warsaw were placed under SS-Obergruppenführer Erich von dem Bach-Zelewski, who had been overseeing the construction of defences on the Vistula near Gdansk. He was the nemesis of partisan forces in the east. Bach-Zelewski was soon to find both Kaminski and Dirlewanger's men were atrociously disciplined. Their brutality in Warsaw was to horrify even the battle hardened SS and von dem Bach-Zelewski thought they were the lowest of the

low remarking: 'The fighting value of these Cossacks was, as usual in such a collection of people without a fatherland, very poor. They had a great liking for alcohol and other excesses and had no interest in military discipline.'

On 5 August 1944, Dirlewanger and Kaminski's troops counter-attacked the brave Polish Home Army. A bloody massacre took place in Elektoralna Street. At the Marie Curie Radium Institute, drunken Cossacks perpetrated even greater atrocities against the civilian staff and patients. For two days, they ran amok. After the war, German officers involved disingenuously laid the blame firmly on the shoulders of Kaminski and Dirlewanger.

On the 19th, the Polish Home Army's efforts to fight its way through to those forces trapped in the Old Town, came to nothing and it was clear they would have to be evacuated to the city centre and Żoliborz district. About 2,500 fighters withdrew via the sewers leaving behind their badly wounded. It was now only a matter of time before the SS crushed resistance in the city centre.

Determined German resistance

To ward off a wider encircling movement by the Red Army to the north, Model deployed the 4th SS Panzer Corps with the 3rd SS and 5th SS moved into



This Soviet tanker, having escaped his knocked out tank, was cut down in the road. At Wolomin, the Soviet 3rd Tank Corps was trapped by panzers, losing 9,000 men and most of its tanks.



German StuG III assault gun lies in wait for the unwary. Hitler's panzers pulled out all the stops to arrest the rot that had set in during the summer of 1944. The German recovery at Warsaw was quite remarkable.

blocking positions. From 14 August, the Soviets attacked for a week but the SS successfully held off 15 rifle divisions and two tank corps. Also in mid-August, Model relinquished his command of Army Group Centre and hastened to France to take charge from Günther von Kluge, in a vain attempt to avert the unfolding German defeat in Normandy.

Stalin's great offensive that commenced in Byelorussia on 23 June 1944 had all but ended by 29 August. By the 26th, the 3rd SS had been forced back to Praga, but a counterattack by them on 11 September thwarted another attempt to link up with the Polish Home Army. It was the 3rd SS and 5th SS who had the dubious honour, along with Stalin of consigning Warsaw to two months of bloody agony.

From 13 September, the Red Air Force spent two weeks conducting 2,000 supply sorties to the insurgents. The supplies were modest including 505 anti-tank rifles, nearly 1,500 submachine guns and 130 tons of food, medicine and explosives. By the time Berling's Polish 1st Army was committed for the battle for Praga, time was running out, with Żoliborz under attack by elements of the 25th Panzer Division and just 400 insurgents left holding a narrow strip of

the river.

Berling recklessly threw his men over the river at Czerniaków but tragically could make no headway against determined German resistance. He landed three groups on the banks of the Czerniaków and Powiśle areas and made contacts with Home Army forces on the night of 14/15th of September. His men on the eastern shore attempted several more landings over the next four days, but during the 15th-23rd those that who had got over suffered heavy casualties and lost their boats and river crossing equipment.

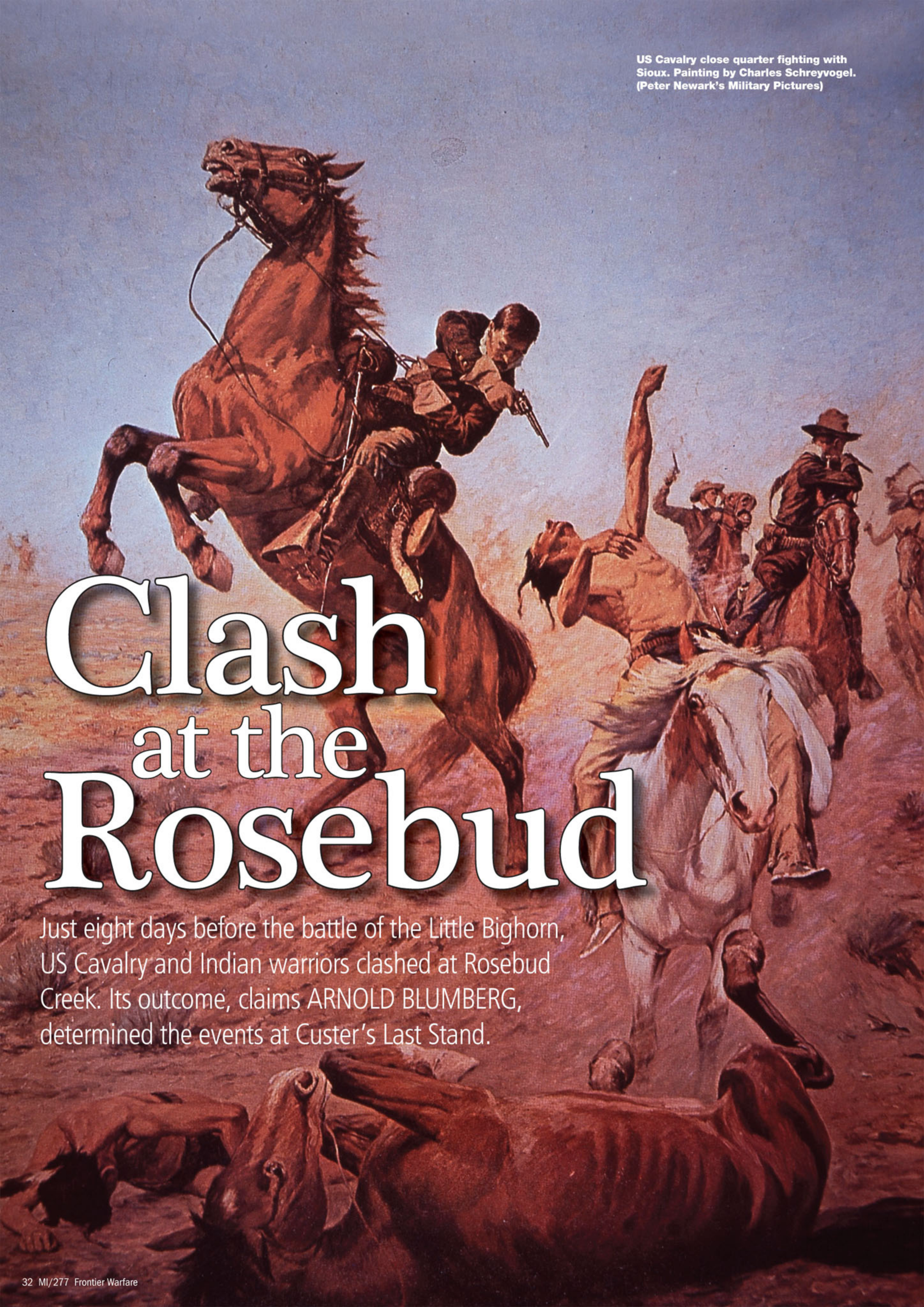
On 22 September, Berling's men were ordered back across the Vistula for a second time. There was hardly any Red Army support and from the 3,000 men who made it across, just 900 got back to the eastern shores, two thirds of whom were seriously wounded. In total, Berling's Polish 1st Army losses amounted to 5,660 killed, missing or wounded trying to aid the Warsaw uprising.

After 62 days of fighting and having lost 15,000 dead and 25,000 wounded, the Polish Home Army surrendered in Warsaw on 2 October; up to 200,000 civilians had also been killed in the needless orgy of destruction. After the

surrender, 15,000 members of the Home Army were disarmed and sent to PoW camps in Germany, while up to 6,000 fighters slipped back into the population with the intention of continuing the fight. The vengeful Himmler expelled the rest of the civilian population and ordered the city be flattened.

Crushing the Poles had been a pointless exercise, which cost Hitler 10,000 dead, 9,000 wounded and 7,000 missing. It was clear from the fatalities outnumbering the wounded that no quarter had been given. However, German morale was given a much-needed boost, believing their feat of arms rather than Stalin had halted Rokossovsky at the very gates of Warsaw.

Hasso Krappe recalled: 'When General [Bor] met my divisional commander, Lieutenant General Källner, after the capitulation, both stood proudly to attention. As cavalrymen, they knew each other from pre-war fencing competitions. [Bor] said to Källner, "If I'd known, sir, that you were on the other side I'd have surrendered a lot sooner." He didn't know that 19th Panzer had only spent five days fighting in the city.' Rokossovsky would not occupy the Polish capital for another six weeks, leaving Hitler triumphant before Warsaw •



US Cavalry close quarter fighting with Sioux. Painting by Charles Schreyvogel. (Peter Newark's Military Pictures)

Clash at the Rosebud

Just eight days before the battle of the Little Bighorn, US Cavalry and Indian warriors clashed at Rosebud Creek. Its outcome, claims ARNOLD BLUMBERG, determined the events at Custer's Last Stand.

By 1876, the Native American Indians who had rejected the Fort Laramie Peace Treaty of 1868 numbered over 4000 Sioux, and 1000 Cheyenne—a group representing ten percent of the total Sioux and Northern Cheyenne populations. These bands avoided government control, and known as ‘winter roamers’, hunted and moved about in the non-ceded Indian lands in the Montana, Dakota and Wyoming Territories. From this area they raided enemy Indian tribes as well as adjacent white settlements all around the Great Plains.

The last half of the 1870s saw the ‘non-treaty’ Indians drawing guidance and leadership from men such as Sitting Bull. A famous Hunkapapa Lakota Sioux medicine man (spiritual leader) among his people, Sitting Bull insisted on complete separation from whites, and strict adherence to traditional Great Plains Indian cultural and religious tenets. His reputed power and inspirational messages and visions, which demanded ‘returning to the old ways’, led many young braves to desert the reservations and join him. Also flocking to join him were well known Indian leaders such as Gall, Spotted Eagle, and the most uncompromising and accomplished warrior of them all—Crazy Horse. While Sitting Bull motivated his followers through religious example, his chief disciples advocated and executed warfare on the tactical level.

Gold rush

With the official purpose of establishing a military post to shield the Military Department of the Platte from Indian attacks, the US Army secured the government’s permission to send an armed expedition to the Black Hills, located in the southwest corner of present day South Dakota. Under the command of Lieutenant Colonel George Armstrong Custer, the US 7th Cavalry Regiment and a few infantry companies (1000 men all told) entered the game-rich, heavy-forested Black Hills during July 1874.

While Custer found a good location for a military installation, the mining engineers that had accompanied him discovered traces of gold in the many waterways that flowed through the land. The problem for the government was that the Black Hills had been given to the Sioux by the 1868 Treaty of Fort Laramie and was their last plentiful hunting and most revered holy grounds.

The announcement of the presence of gold in the Black Hills triggered an eruption of gold seekers in to the region—

over 800 by 1875. Indian reaction was swift and predictable: isolated whites were attacked throughout the area and settler property stolen or destroyed. Washington attempted to purchase for \$6 million, or a lease of \$400,000 per year, the Black Hills. But disagreement over the property’s value between the agency Indians under Red Cloud and the US negotiators led to stalemated talks.

In 1875, President Grant decided on conflict with the recalcitrant Sioux. The administration felt that a military solution

the expiration of Washington’s ultimatum, Sheridan contacted his subordinates—Brigadiers Terry and Crook—to prepare for operations against the ‘hostiles’, reminding them: “Unless they [the Indians] can be caught before early spring, they cannot be caught at all.” Sheridan’s cautionary note to his deputies was based on the fact that during spring, summer and fall, on the Great Plains, the Indians were almost impossible to catch, let alone defeat in battle, because Indian villages and their occupants during those seasons were



US Cavalry officer in campaign dress. Painting by Frederic Remington. (Peter Newark's Military Pictures)

would result in the final and complete subjugation of that tribe and their allies with the resultant relinquishment by them of not only the coveted Black Hills but all the non-ceded territory. Moving toward this goal, the federal Government issued an ultimatum on 6 December for those Sioux still in the non-ceded lands to return to their reservations by 31 January 1876, on penalty of being considered hostile and subject to military action.

In charge of the coming campaign was Lieutenant General Philip H Sheridan—head of the Military Division of the Missouri, which encompassed modern day Missouri, Kansas, Colorado, New Mexico, Iowa, Nebraska, Utah, Minnesota, Montana, and the Dakotas. His attitude toward the Indians can best be summed-up when he famously declared that ‘The only good Indian I ever saw was a dead Indian.’

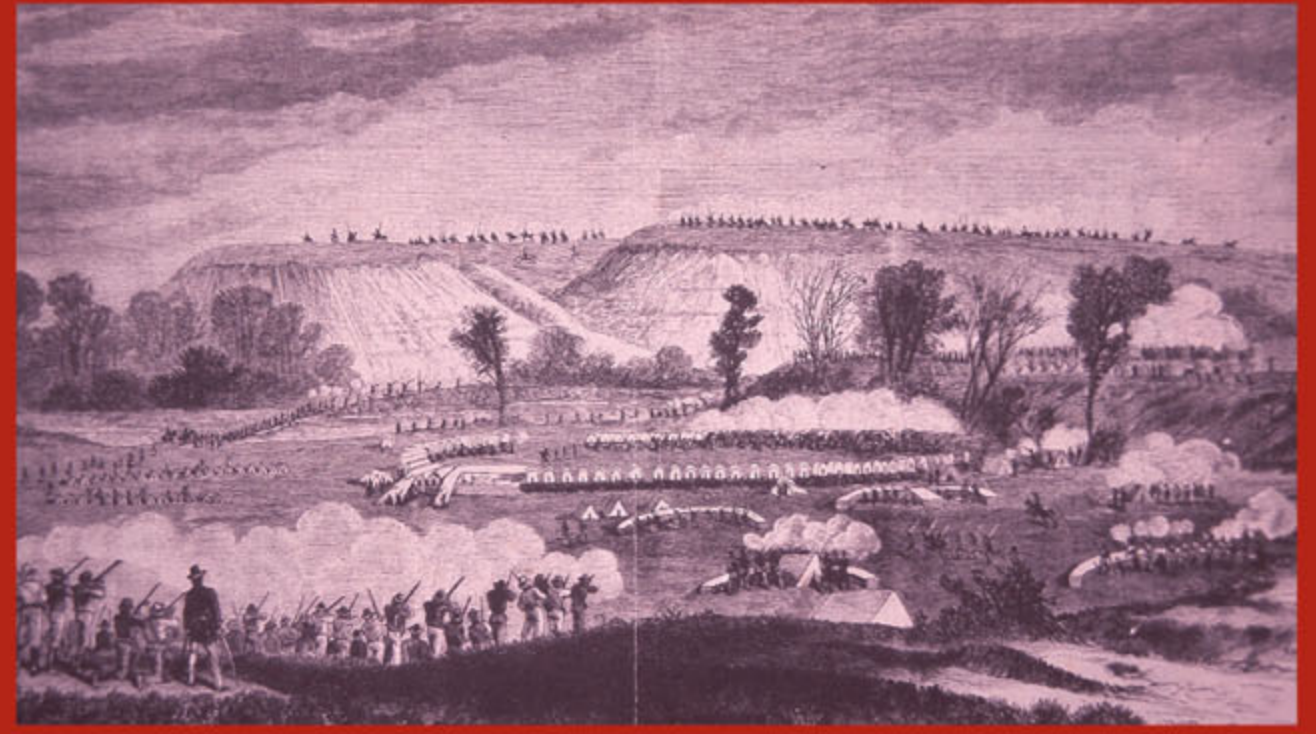
On 8 February 1876, after waiting for

constantly on the move looking for good hunting and grazing land. With absolute knowledge of the country they were traveling through, something not possessed by the US Army, groups of Indians easily evaded searching or pursuing soldiers. Sheridan’s answer to this vexing problem was a winter campaign.

During the cold months of November to March on the Great Plains, Indian communities sought good locales where the water and grass was plentiful and they could take shelter from the severe winds and snowfall during that part of the year. After finding these secluded spots, the Indians would settle in one place until the spring brought back the grass and game, and movement was not impeded by the deep snow. Thus, during winter, the Indian was vulnerable to attack since he was a stationary target.



Battle of the Rosebud, showing Sioux and Cheyenne attack. Contemporary illustration. (Peter Newark's Military Pictures)



Battle of the Rosebud, 17 June 1876, showing US soldiers in combat with Sioux and Cheyenne near Rosebud Creek in Montana. Contemporary illustration. (Peter Newark's Military Pictures)

Leading Indian fighter

Alfred Howe Terry, one of Sheridan's senior commanders, was head of the Department of Dakota (Minnesota, and parts of Dakota and Montana). Prior to the Civil War, Terry was an attorney. During that conflict he rose to corps command. He was the first non-West Pointer in many years to hold a general officer's commission in the Regular Army.

Fifty-years-old, Terry was 6' 2" tall and wore a bushy black beard that concealed a long and thoughtful face. Lurking behind a mask of congeniality was a crafty and calculating intelligence coupled with a massive ego. His approach to war was summed up in his personal motto 'Zeal without discretion only does harm'.

Partnered with Terry was another Civil War veteran who wore the gold star of a brigadier general, George Crook. Forty-eight-years old and a graduate of the United States Military Academy at West Point, Class of 1852, Crook had had a distinguished career during the war earning a brevet major general rank by the end of the conflict. After the war, he served on the Southwest frontier and came to command the Department of the Platte (Iowa, Nebraska, Utah, Wyoming, and a small corner of southern Idaho), starting in 1875.

Of middling-height, possessed of piercing gray eyes and a biblical beard tied in two braids, Crook affected a rather grubby, ordinary appearance. But beneath his naturally taciturn demeanor lay a Zen-like zealotry. Before he assumed leadership of the Department of the Platte, Crook had won fame battling the Apache in the American Southwest. His string of successes there made him, not George A Custer, the leading Indian fighter of the day. His victorious campaigns were based on two crucial factors: the use of pack mules to transport supplies, and his employment of Indian scouts, usually from the same tribe he was fighting.

Facing Terry and Crook in the forthcoming contest would be a number of Indian leaders of great ability. The most representative of all would be Crazy Horse, the 36-year-old Oglala Lakota Sioux war leader. Born in 1840, near the Black Hills, slim, with light skin and hair, with a narrow face, he stood about 5'7" tall. Very quiet, he usually kept to himself. During battle he dressed plainly, unlike other war chiefs never donning a war bonnet, and always wearing his hair in two long braids. Before any raid or battle he carefully plotted how it would be conducted. During a fight he was calm and deliberate, avoiding rash acts, and depended on firepower whenever possible to achieve victory. His prowess in battle was legendary (see MI/272).

Severe weather

The strategic plan worked-out by Sheridan called for a multi-pronged attack directed against the Power River country and all of southeastern Montana Territory. One prong, under Crook would drive north out of Fort Fetterman on the Platte River near Douglas, Wyoming. An eastern prong, under the command of Terry lead by Lieutenant Colonel George A Custer's 7th United States Cavalry, would move west from Fort Abraham Lincoln in North Dakota on the Missouri River.

At the same time, a column heading east from Fort Ellis in Montana under Colonel John Gibbon would travel along the Yellowstone River. Gibbon, an artillery expert, had graduated from West Point in 1847 and had had a distinguished Civil War career as an infantry division and corps commander. Following the war, he served in the West handling infantry units and compiling a commendable record as an Indian fighter. The Army hoped for a quick victory thinking that the Indians were camped on the Little Missouri River in North Dakota and numbered only a few hundred warriors. In fact, they were 200

miles to the west near the Little Big Horn River in eastern Montana, and, as the season turned from winter to spring, their numbers would swell over 200 percent.

While Terry dealt with supply problems and severe weather, Crook started his operation on 1 March. He set off from Fort Fetterman with 900 cavalry, infantry and a mule train. After suffering through a blizzard and sub-zero temperatures, the column established a base at the ruins of Fort Reno. Leaving his infantry and trains there, he pushed on with his ten companies of cavalry. Ten days later, Crook reached the Tongue River (west of the Powder River in eastern Montana) and on the 17th launched an attack against the village of Old Bear with most of his cavalry.

The assault was a fiasco as the soldiers showed little determination to fight with only 47 of the 200 cavalymen following their officers in the initial assault. After being subjected to heavy fire and numerous counter attacks by the Indians, the horse soldiers burned the village and retreated. With morale shattered and supplies exhausted, Crook and his men returned to Fort Abraham Lincoln on 26 March.

After Gibbon was informed of Crook's debacle on the Powder River, he ordered his command to stand down. Further east, Terry never even got going due to continued supply problems and bad weather. The winter effort had failed. The Army would have to prepare for a summer campaign.

Personality clash

The new offensive Sheridan planned would take the form of three fast moving military forces converging on south-central Montana simultaneously: Terry heading west, Gibbon moving east, and Crook marching north. But there were problems from the start. First, there were hundreds of miles separating the different field forces, which meant that it would take days and good luck before any of the



Fort Laramie, US fort and trading post, painted by Alfred Jacob Miller in 1837. (Peter Newark's Military Pictures)

allied columns could communicate with each other. As it was, neither Terry nor Crook ever seriously tried to contact one another. As a result, all three commanders spent much of the campaign marching and fighting in isolation against a unified, cunning and determined foe.

Second, General Sheridan did not name an overall field commander, nor did he ever issue instructions for the tactical coordination between Terry and Crook. This violated the basic military principal of unity of command. This breach was allowed to occur due to an intense dislike for one another between Terry and Crook. Personality traits were at the heart of this animosity. Terry the friendly, self effacing, methodical, cautious lawyer could not have been more different than the energetic, and at times, overbearing Crook. Professional rivalry also played its part since both strove for promotion and public recognition. In addition, Crook, vastly more experienced in Indian warfare than Terry, was mortified by the fact Terry was his senior in rank, and as a result was more than eager to keep as much distance between the two as possible.

Lastly, Army estimates of the number of Indians it was dealing with contributed to the failure of the coming operation. Calculations in March 1876 by the Army as to the number of Sioux and Cheyenne in the Powder River country ranged from 400 to 800 warriors. This would prove to be an underestimation by several orders of magnitude. By the time the three military elements were poised to begin the campaign in May, many more Indians had deserted the reservations and their winter haunts to converge on the Powder River region. The total may have been 10,000 to 15,000,

among them over 1500 fighting men. Ironically, the Army's biggest fear as May gave way to June was not their enemy's strength, but that the 'hostiles' would not stand but slip away.

On 17 May 1876, the Dakota Column under Terry, 925 men strong, departed Fort Abraham Lincoln, while Gibbon's 440 man contingent left Fort Ellis and marched east. By 3 June, Terry and Gibbon were in close proximity—the former near the Little Missouri River at modern Glendive, Montana, the latter making his way east along the north bank of the Yellowstone River. Terry learned from Gibbon's advance scouts that Indians had been spotted to the south on Rosebud Creek, a tributary of the Yellowstone.

With the enemy over 150 miles further west than expected from Terry, and Gibbon's troopers actually moving to the east and north away from their prey, Terry had to reconfigure his plans. A new base was established at the mouth of the Powder River, about 50 miles up the Yellowstone. Gibbon was to retrace his steps westward to the area where the Rosebud met the Yellowstone. The result of this marching and counter marching was that Terry's Dakota Column would spend the next two weeks groping between the Powder and the Rosebud Rivers looking in vain for 'hostiles' to fight.

As Terry's Dakota and Gibbon's Montana Columns initiated their moves west and east in mid-May, Crook started his Wyoming Column north from Fort Fetterman on 29 May. His force included cavalry commanded by Lieutenant Colonel William B Royall, made up of ten companies from the 3rd US Cavalry

Regiment under Major Alexander W Evans, and five more from the 2nd US Cavalry Regiment under Captain Henry Noyes. Major Alexander Chambers headed the five companies of infantry, two from the 4th US Infantry and three of the 9th US Infantry Regiments. Crook's Big Horn and Yellowstone Expedition, as it was officially dubbed, was supported by, surprisingly not pack mules, but 103 army supply wagons each pulled by a six-mule team.

Crook's force stretched for four miles as it slowly made its way north over the Wyoming prairie on the dust choked Bozeman Trail. Crook may have been concerned over his torpid progress, but what really worried him was the lack of Native American scouts he usually employed on his campaigns. That resource had always been key to his past successes over Indian opponents, since they could think, track and fight in the same manner as the enemy. But before his expedition started in late May, Crook failed in his efforts to recruit Indians from any of the Sioux agencies to act as his eyes and ears. He had to use volunteers from the Crow and Shoshone tribes, bitter enemies of the Sioux, but these had not arrived when he started his march.

Sudden shots

On the 30th, Crook's force continued northwest, reaching the South Cheyenne River, 20 miles on. Next day, the column, enduring the monotonous bleak terrain and cold winds, moved another 20 miles to finally pitch camp on the North Fork of Wind River. June 1st found the troops awoken to a winter-like snowstorm accompanied by fierce winds. After traveling 20 miles, the men bivouacked on the Dry Fork of the Powder River.

June 2nd broke raw and cold as the expedition continued their northwest course. In the far distance, they could see the Big Horn Mountains, to the east the outlines of the Black Hills was discerned. Soon Fort Reno, located on the left bank of the Powder River, was reached. Determined to discover where his missing scouts were, he sent out three of his white guides to travel the Sioux and Cheyenne patrolled 300 miles to the Crow Agency near Livingston, Montana to enlist their help. Crook decided to make a permanent camp at Goose Creek (present day Sheridan, Wyoming), where the water and pasture land was ample, while he await the hoped for Indian allies to appear.

On the 3rd, the tiny army marched 30 grueling miles to the next waterhole on Crazy Women Creek. Next day, it came to Clear Creek after a 20 mile trek. After

a 16-mile march on 5 June, the column came to the remains of Fort Phil Kearney. Crossing Lodge Trail Ridge on the 6th, it took a wrong turn and marched 18 miles away from their intended destination of Goose Creek.

After realizing the mistake, the men were about to retrace their steps, when they were forced to camp for the night due to a storm, which darkened the sky and pelted them with heavy rain. As the wet troopers huddled together, they did not know they were being observed by the same Indians they had been looking for, but had so far failed to locate. A small party of Cheyenne out hunting, accidentally came across the white encampment. They followed the bluecoats for a day and then returned to the Indian main village situated on Rosebud Creek.

The 7th found Crook's command, after a 17-mile march, on the Tongue River near the Montana-Wyoming border where they rested for the next two days. June 8th saw 65 miners enter the camp. Further, a courier arrived with news that 120 Shoshones would be arriving to join Crook in a few days.

During the evening of the 9th, the quiet of the camp was broken by a sudden fusillade of gunfire coming from the bluffs overlooking it. In response, infantry crossed the river looking for the attacking Indians, who prudently slipped away upon the soldiers' approach. As this occurred, Captain Anson Mills, Company M, 3rd US Cavalry, was ordered to take four companies of horsemen across the Tongue and clear the enemy from the bluffs.

Splashing across the water, Mills and his men dismounted and climbed the hills, commencing a fruitless pursuit of their prey as the Indians scurried from one ridge to another, just out of the troopers' reach. Hearing gunfire to their rear from the camp below, Mills broke off the action and returned over the river. The shooting he had heard was the repulse of some warriors attempting to run off the soldiers' horses near their campsite. The entire action lasted an hour. Losses included two slightly wounded troopers, three horses and one mule killed. Indian casualties could not be confirmed.

On 11 June, Crook reached Goose Creek. Crook's concern about the absence of his expected Indian scouts was lifted on the 14th by the arrival of 175 Crow led by their chiefs Old Crow, Medicine Crow, and Good Heart. Later that day, 86 Shoshones, well armed with .45 caliber Springfield Rifles (the Crows sported inferior .50 caliber rifles) also appeared in camp.

The arrival of the longed for Indian

auxiliaries spurred Crook to order an immediate attack on the Sioux and Cheyenne, thought to be somewhere on the south side of the Yellowstone near the Tongue River. As a result, the morning of 16 June saw the army break camp and march out with 1000 officers and enlisted soldiers, 260 Indian scouts, and 85 miners and mule packers—a total of over 1300 men.

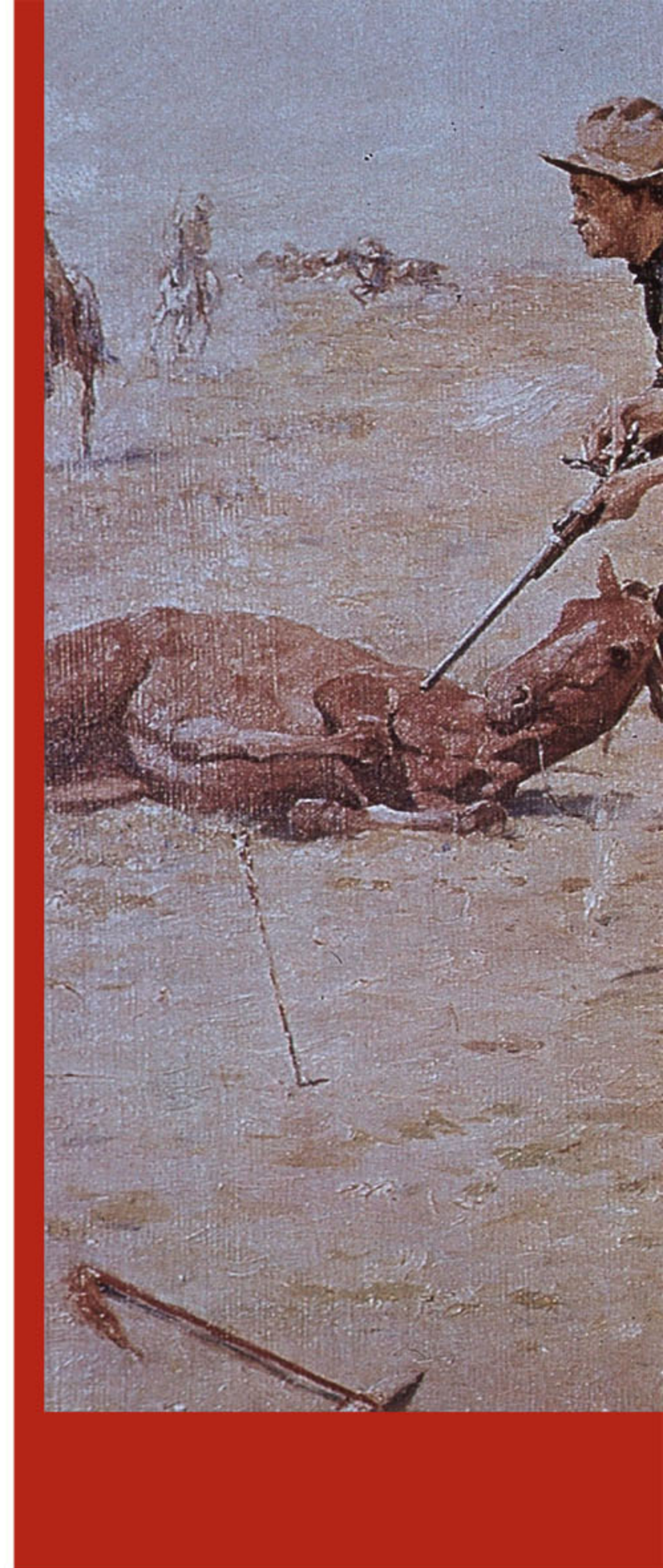
The column marched north to the Tongue and then northwest between that body of water and Rosebud Creek. Although Crook thought he would find the Indian village on Rosebud Creek, it was in fact sitting on Reno Creek, a branch of the Little Bighorn River, 30 miles to the northwest.

Around noon, army Indian scouts spotted a Cheyenne hunting party. The Cheyenne sped away to warn their compatriots of the soldiers' appearance on the upper Rosebud. As the day ended, warriors headed southward to battle the Long Knives. Estimates range from 800 to 1500 tribesmen. As the Sioux and Cheyenne rode to war, Crook's army, after a 35-mile advance, settled in for the night on the south fork of Rosebud Creek.

Throughout the day Crook's Indian scouts had done little scouting, instead contending themselves with hunting buffalo. They informed Crook that they feared to go far from camp because of the presence of the Sioux! Meantime, unknown to the Army, hostile warriors under the Cheyenne Two Moon, and Spotted Wolf, and the Sioux led by Crazy Horse, were congregating along the Rosebud eager to drive the enemy from their land and gain battle honors.

Hot pursuit

Early on 17 June, Crook's column moved north, down the south fork of Rosebud Creek, the cavalry leading, followed by the infantry and then the miners and packers. At 8:00 am they halted to rest. The men spread out over a valley half a mile wide with 500 foot bluffs to the south and a series of low ridges to the north, 150-800 yards back from the creek. Beyond these ridges, the treeless prairie sloped upwards in a broad undulating sweep to the main crest, a mile north of the high ground. Here on the main crest, known as Crook's Hill, much of the battle was fought. The main crest extended three miles, running northwest to southeast. A spur ridge came in one mile west of Crook's Hill and runs at an acute angle southeast for one mile, until it terminates several hundred yards from the creek. This ridge is named Royall's Ridge



in honor of Colonel Royall whose men fought the Sioux and Cheyenne there. Between Royall's Ridge and Crook's Hill spans the Kollmar Valley, which runs for two miles southeast and parallels Royall's Ridge before ending at the Rosebud.

Crook's command was on either side of the Rosebud: Anson Mill's battalion, followed by Captains van Vliet's and Guy V Henry's battalions (all from the 3rd Cavalry) occupied the right bank; on the opposite shore near the Kobold House camped Captain Henry E. Noyes' 2nd Cavalry companies. Then came the infantry units, some of which were newly mounted on available mules, followed by the miners and packers. Crook made his headquarters along the spring at the mouth of the Kollmar.

As the morning wore on, the general and a few of his officers played a game of whist while soldiers watched the Shoshones race their horses. By 8:30 am, the quiet was broken by the sounds of continuous gunfire coming from the north.

Eleven miles in that direction from the



Skirmish line of US Cavalry using single-shot Springfield carbines. Painting by Charles Schreyvogel. (Peter Newark's Military Pictures)

army camp, a few Crows and Shoshone scouts probed for the enemy. The scouts encountered larger and larger groups of Cheyenne and Sioux, and were forced back toward the Rosebud. Soon the Indians came over the bluffs north of camp in hot pursuit of the scouts who came tearing down the hillside shouting 'Lakota! Lakota!' At the same time, more warriors, under Crazy Horse were seen approaching the valley from the east.

Responding to the oncoming rush of the enemy, Major George Randall, chief of scouts formed his men in a skirmish line on the ridges north of the encampment. For 20 minutes, this paper thin cordon of friendly Indians and soldiers on picket duty kept the hostiles at bay, only 500 yards from the unprepared bluecoat's campsite. Charge and counter-charge by both sides characterized the start of the battle.

Caught flatfooted, Crook mounted his horse to ride up the bluffs north of the Kollmar Valley to ascertain the situation. As he rode off, officers and NCOs roared

out orders for their men to grab their weapons, mount their horses and fall-in.

Upon reaching a good point of observation, Crook determined that the key to the battlefield would be control of the high ground to the north and south of his camp. Van Vliet was ordered to take his 3rd Cavalry contingent and take the heights to the south. A bold mounted charge by van Vliet's men swept the Indians from the position. They then settled in to hold it. Meantime, Crook detailed Henry's battalion to secure the army's left, which it did.

The general now turned his attention to taking the hills to his north by sending two infantry companies directly north of the spring running through Kollmar Valley. They were supported on the left flank by four more infantry units. To their left, moved the miners and packers. The entire force was commanded by Captain Avery B Cain, Company C, 4th US Infantry. Raked by the long range fire of the foot soldier's Model 1873 Springfield Rifles, and supported by Captain Noyes' 2nd Cavalry

battalion, fighting on foot and on the right of the infantry line, the attacking Indians fell back. The blue coat line, a mile long, steadily rolled up hill toward a natural 300-yard opening on the crest of Crook's Hill called the 'gap'.

As the soldiers neared the 'gap', a series of charges and counter-charges conducted by both sides ensued. The area east of the 'gap' afforded good defensive ground since it was studded with pine trees, large boulders and sandstone crevices. From here, the Indians poured effective fire on the advancing troops, which pinned them down and halted their movements toward the summit

Perilous position

To break the deadlock below the crest of Crook's Hill, Crook ordered Anson Mills and six companies of cavalry (Mill's own battalion, and two companies from Henry's unit) to conduct a mounted assault against the ridges east of the 'gap'. In column of fours, over 300 yards wide, the troopers galloped up the

southeastern slope of the ridge east of the 'gap', using their revolvers to fire at the Indians hidden among the rocks and timber. The charge, which took them in flank and front, broke the enemy position, which was overseen by Crazy Horse, forcing many to retreat up to the crest of the hill a mile from the 'gap'. Mills men returned to the bottom of the hill to reform and advance once more this time to take the hillcrest.

Before Mills could conduct his second assault, Colonel Royall, seeing Indians to the west on a ridge south of the stream, which ran through Kollmar Valley,

Crook ordered him to do so.

While the army commander fumed over Royall's predicament, he directed Mills to take his command and find and destroy the Indian village Crook assumed was nearby. As Mills left Crook's Hill to obey his new orders, the Cheyenne and Sioux interpreted Mills' move as a retreat. In response they attacked Royall with renewed fury in order to drive a permanent wedge between the separated army forces. Now almost surrounded by his opponents, Royall could not move directly to join the main force on Crook's Hill. Instead, he had to lead his men a mile further west to a ridge that

west, south, and east once in the valley, Royall sent a message to Crook's Hill, to the north, for help. Scrapping his plans to send Mills to find the main Indian camp, Crook sent him, and two infantry companies, to aid Royall. The approach of Mills' mounted troopers from the rear of Conical Hill, as well as the infantry and some Indian scouts punching through to the beleaguered command, allowed Royall and his men to pass through the Kollmar and ascend Crook's Hill to safety.

Seeing Mills coming on, and Royall joined by friendly infantry, the Indians broke all contact and, under Crazy Horse's direction, withdrew in good order; some having the timidity of actually retreating completely around the army's positions as they headed for the Rosebud. By 2:30 pm, the six-hour fight was over.

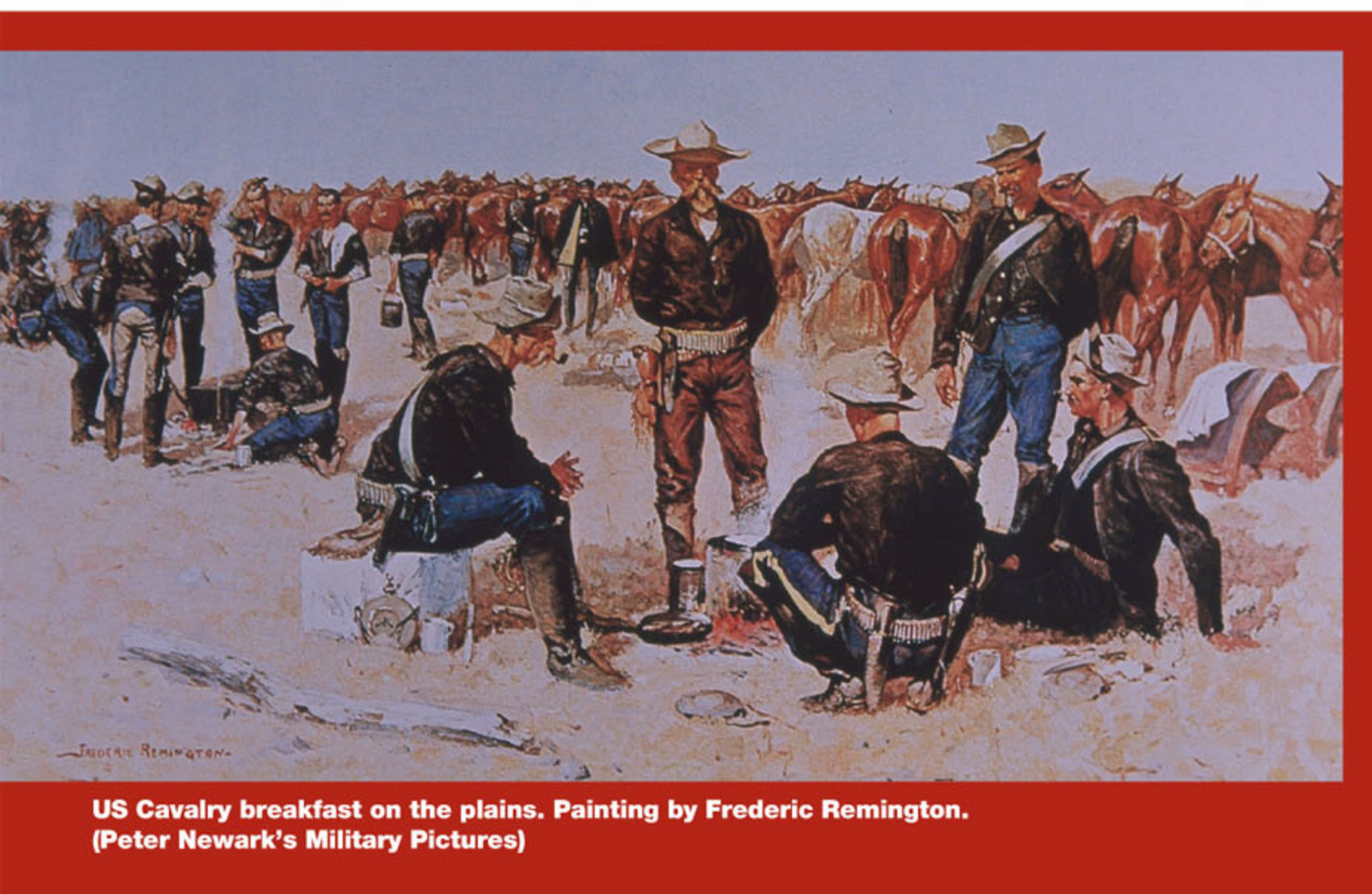
Emboldened Indians

After the guns fell silent, a frustrated and embarrassed Crook tried to organize an advance in the afternoon on the Indian village. His march went only a short distance when his Crow scouts refused to enter a canyon that they felt was surely a trap. There was no trap planned by the Sioux, but Crook could not persuade his Indians to proceed, and if tried he knew they would desert him. That he could not afford. By 4:00 pm, Crook led his men back to the battlefield.

The battle of the Rosebud cost the US Army 10 soldiers killed and 21 wounded; Crazy Horse recorded the loss of 39 of his warriors killed with 63 more wounded. Claiming the need to replenish his depleted supplies and tend to his wounded, Crook, on 18 June, returned to Goose Creek, remaining there for the next six weeks.

Eight days after the battle of the Rosebud, most of Custer's 7th US Cavalry was destroyed at the Little Bighorn, about 40 miles from the site of Crook's encounter with the Cheyenne and Sioux. The stalemate at the Rosebud aborted the pressure from the south on the Indians camped on the Little Bighorn River, allowing them to concentrate against Custer's force, while removing a ready source of reinforcement for Custer.

If not an outright defeat for the Army, Crook's failure at the Rosebud, and subsequent retreat, so emboldened the Plains Indians that they did not give a second thought when confronted by Custer's smaller force on 25 June 1876. At the Rosebud, Crazy Horse and his braves for the first time sought out battle with a large army contingent—they would do the same with Custer, with even more spectacular results •



US Cavalry breakfast on the plains. Painting by Frederic Remington. (Peter Newark's Military Pictures)

commandeered Mill's three rear companies and went off in pursuit. Undaunted, Mills ordered the charge, swept over Crook's Hill and advanced almost a mile to another rise called Conical Hill. There he was ordered by Crook to halt, dismount and form a skirmish line. Crook and Miller were joined by the infantry and miners under Cain.

As the army consolidated its hold on Crook's Hill, Royall, now joined by two cavalry companies under Henry, found himself a mile to the west. He split his command of 225 men into several detachments, which recklessly pursued the withdrawing Indians. Two of these small soldier groups was attacked by overwhelming numbers and had to retreat. Royall finally gathered his separated units on what came to be called Royall Hill, about a mile west of Crook's Hill. Seeing the vulnerability of Royall's position so far from friendly succor, over 500 Indians attacked the blue coats from the north, south, and west for two hours. Inexplicably, Royall declined to withdraw from his perilous position even after

dropped off in to a wide chasm.

As Royall fought his battle, Crazy Horse, about noon, led Indians from Conical Hill in a whirlwind charge down to the entrance of Kollmar Valley passing first Packer's Hill, held by the miners and mule drivers, and then past Crook's Hill. To stop this dangerous Indian thrust, Crook threw in his scouts and van Vliet's men who had recently come up. They not only stopped the enemy advance but caused them to retreat two miles to the west of Crook's Hill. But the Indians still held Conical Hill and kept delivering a withering fire from there. In response, Cain's infantry was called upon to take Conical Hill, which they did in short order. The time was now 12:30 am.

After Conical Hill was captured, Crook once again summoned Royall to join him. The colonel realized his only escape route was to the east. Suffering heavy Indian rifle fire, Royall's men passed over to the north slope of Royall's Ridge and down to the Kollmar Valley. The men dismounted and formed a 325-yard wide skirmish line. Caught in a terrible cross fire from

Great Military Artists



Citadel of St Sebastian. (Author's collection)

John Gaspard Le Marchant

Sir John Gaspard Le Marchant GCMG, KCB, (1803-1874) was born to a family of gifted amateur artists. His father was founder of the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, and, although he came late to sketching and water-colour painting, developed a solid reputation. However, the son's skills overtook the father's, whose preferred subjects were landscapes.

Le Marchant had what seems to have been, initially at least, a less than illustrious career, working his way up the military ladder through purchase rather than recognition of his military talent. Eventually in 1835, he became adjutant-general of the British Auxiliary Legion that took part in the First Spanish Carlist War with the rank of Brigadier-General.

Famous regiment

Although Le Marchant never served in the Royal Welch Fusiliers, he seems to have had a special attachment to this famous regiment. On 22 December 1859, while he was Governor of Malta, Le Marchant presented new colours to the Royal Welch and he celebrated the event by executing a watercolour of a soldier in the uniform of the regiment worn at the battle of Culloden in 1692.

Le Marchant's skills as an artist and his affection for this regiment come together in his skilful representation of the Citadel St Sebastian. This city was the focus of

much activity during the Carlist War and in May 1836 a heavily fought battle outside the city walls was marked by a tragedy that must have meant a great deal to Le Marchant.

Fellow Guernseyman Colonel William Le Mesurier Tupper, recently transferred from the Royal Welch Regiment, was a highly respected officer attached to the light brigade. On 5 May, as the light brigade were ordered to attack a new breach in the Spanish defences, Tupper, already badly wounded took command of the brigade and, advancing under heavy fire, was brought down by a bullet that pierced his shako and entered his temple. However, 'the bullet had penetrated half an inch into the brain, and could not be extracted, Colonel Tupper survived eight days, during the greater part of which he was sensible, and spoke of his approaching dissolution with the utmost composure and fortitude.'

Tupper's bravery made a deep impression on his comrades in arms and he was buried with full military honours 'on the spot where he received his mortal wound, in front of the formidable redoubt which his gallantry so mainly contributed in carrying.' Brigadier-General Le Marchant was the Chief Mourner. Le Marchant must have painted his picture of the citadel with bitter-sweet reflection; he records in impressive detail the natural features of the rock-strewn landscape and



Portrait of Sir John Gaspard Le Marchant. (Albert Ganado Collection, Malta)

the imposing fortifications.

On close examination one sees in the foreground, just beyond the sentry keeping a watchful eye on the artist, a delicate metal railing around what appear to be two headstones. Surely these lonely headstones mark the locations where the artist's comrade fought and fell so valiantly? •

Chris Grech

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Re-enactors

Summer of Re-enactment

Despite spending cuts causing the cancellation of some multi-period events, many others are steaming ahead, says PHILIPP ELLIOT-WRIGHT.



Despite economic recession and financial cutbacks, the English Heritage flagship event—‘Festival of History’—returns over the weekend of 16-17 July at Kelmarsh Hall in Northamptonshire. As has become the hallmark of this event, over 2000 years of history will be on display, ranging from the Roman conquest through to the Second World War. Thus, most of the key images of medieval history are represented in their popular format, including rampaging Vikings and Normans and jousting knights, with the non-PC Crusades being the only missing elements. All other major moments are present, including the English Civil War, the classic redcoats of the mid-18th century, Wellington’s ubiquitous soldiers, the Tommy of the First World War, climaxing with the Second World War. As has become a feature of the Festival of History, various domestic venues are constructed to ensure it is not just a diet of militaria.

Ride a tank

Featuring tanks, trucks, jeeps, motorcycles and just about every other military vehicle is the ‘War and Peace’ display at Hop Farm in Kent running from 20-24 July. The theme is essentially 20th century, with Second World War groups predominating. It is certainly the only event the public can ride in an actual tank, and the number of these steel beasts rumbling around the event is unmatched by any other event.

The revived multi-period ‘Blasts from the Past’ enters its second year, still sponsored

by the National Trust at its property at Broadlands in Hampshire, the home of the late Earl Mountbatten over the weekend of 6-7 August. Keeping in character with its original intent, this event takes a far broader view of history, thus whilst English history is still very much the core theme, with Tudor bowmen and British and French of the 1750s in evidence, they rub shoulders with displays of ancient Greek warriors, Polish Winged Hussars, American Civil War and Western impressions. Further, the event features slightly alternative moments to enjoy with the story of Britain’s 1930s plans to go to the moon!

In terms of multi-period displays, the largest still marches on in the guise of ‘Military Odyssey’, staged at the Detling Show Grounds in Kent over the Bank Holiday weekend of 27-29 August. This year, alongside what is still the largest combat display in the UK of the Second World War, featuring both tanks and aircraft, there is an unparalleled range of historic groups, ranging from Stone Age man through to the Gulf War. It is one of the few events where the Crusades are recalled, with the Knights of Draum Broedr reflecting the era 1095-1320. There is also the remarkable Shogun group clothed and armed as per the 17th century samurai, whilst the substantive Second World War period includes Polish re-enactors from Odwach and Italians with the Mediterraneo.

The only nautical multi-period, staged at Portsmouth Historic Dockyard, is still to be confirmed, either for the weekend of 9-10

or 18-19 July. This event, with its unique backdrop of war ships Victory, Warrior, Mary Rose and other preserved vessels, features elements of Royal Naval history from its Tudor origins through to the 1980s.

US events

In the United States, this year witnesses the commencement of the sesquicentennial commemoration events. The opening shots at Fort Sumter in Charlestown, South Carolina commenced in April with artillery displays around the original harbour. In July, there is the first major clash at Bull Run/Manassas, which is to be staged near the original battle site around Prince William and Manassas in Virginia over the weekend of 23-24 July. This is expected to attract over ten thousand participants alongside over 70 full-size cannon and several hundred cavalry. Whilst the most famous, this is not the only combat of 1861 to be commemorated and displays reflecting the transcontinental nature of the conflict are planned in numerous states •

For Festival of History visit

www.english-heritage.org.uk

For Blasts from the Past and Portsmouth Historic Dockyard visit www.eventplan.co.uk

For War and Peace visit

www.warandpeaceshow.co.uk

For Military Odyssey visit

www.military-odyssey.com

For Sesquicentennial events visit www.civilwar.org



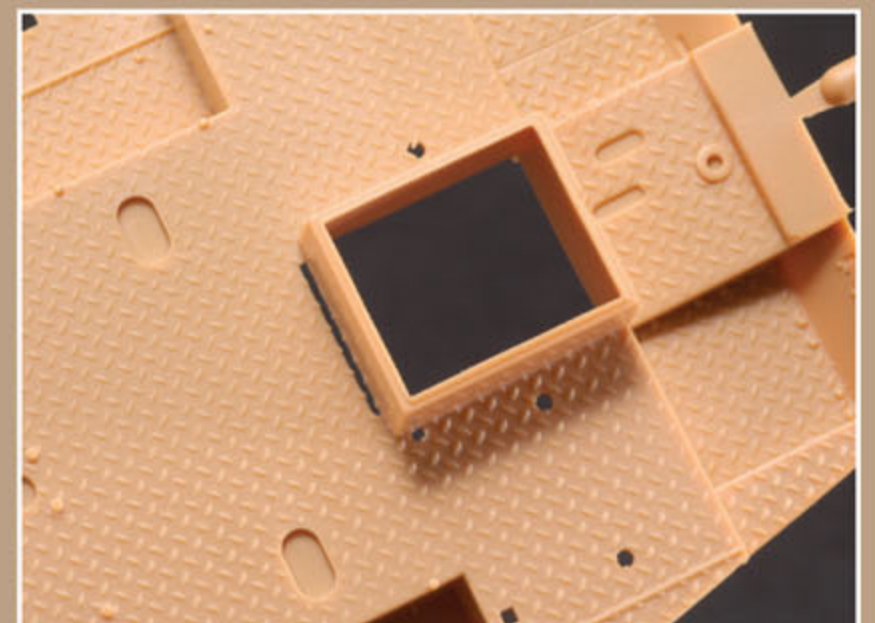
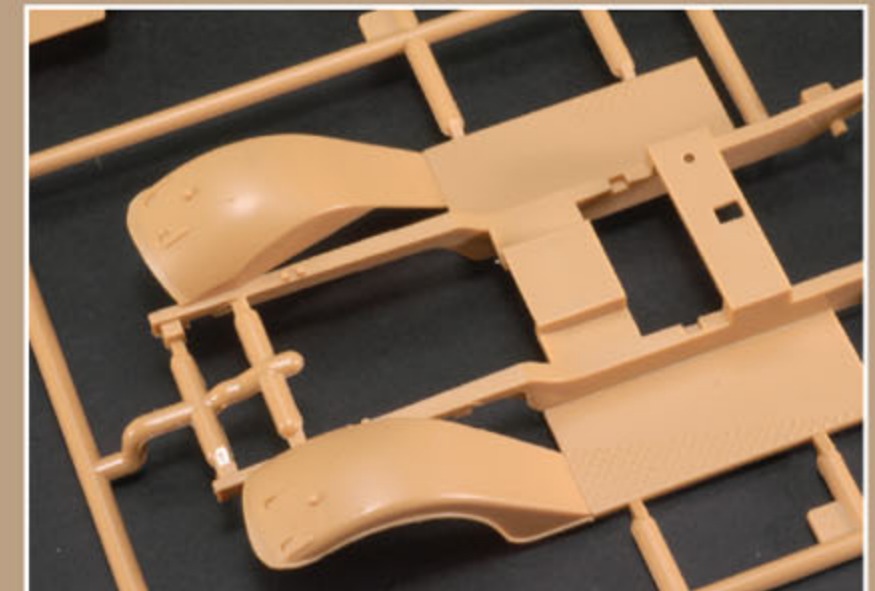
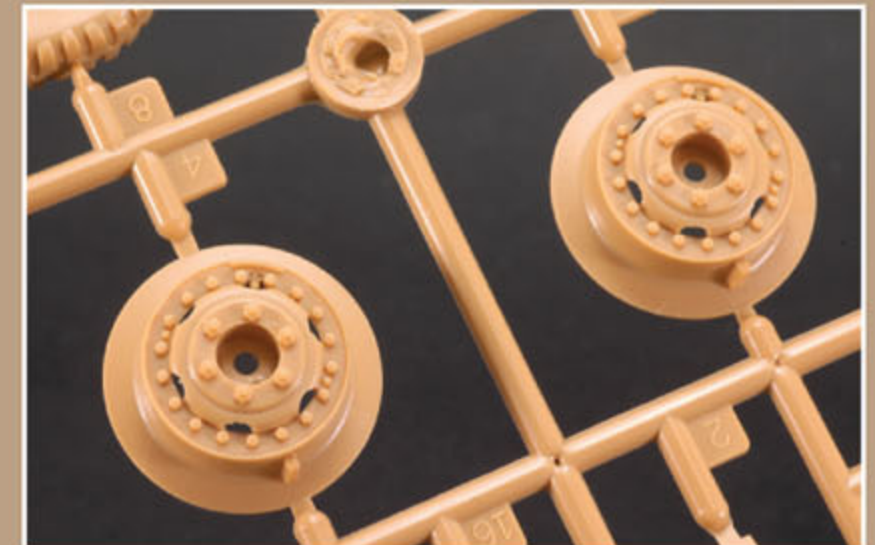
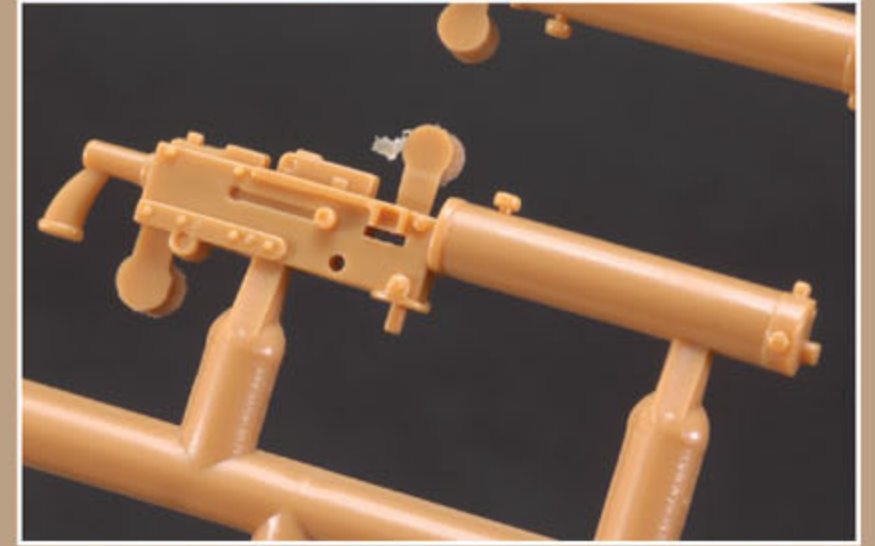
EARLY WAR CLASSIC

The US Army M3A1 White Scout Car has been brought to life by Hobbyboss

Here's a military vehicle subject that has been crying out for a 're-do' for many years. The handsome M3A1 Scout Car is an American classic but the existing kits have needed a lot of work to bring up to scratch. Hobbyboss have re-tooled for this kit and the result is extremely impressive. There has been some talk of late-pattern wheels and tyres being provided when they should be early pattern. This could be the case but it's also feasible that late-patterns were fitted to the early vehicle, thus enabling the kit to be built stock

— but this will require research. As it stands, the combination of convincingly rendered non-slip plate, screw-heads on the side armour, comprehensive engine, drivetrain and chassis detail plus other neat touches make this an irresistible kit with huge superdetailing potential. •

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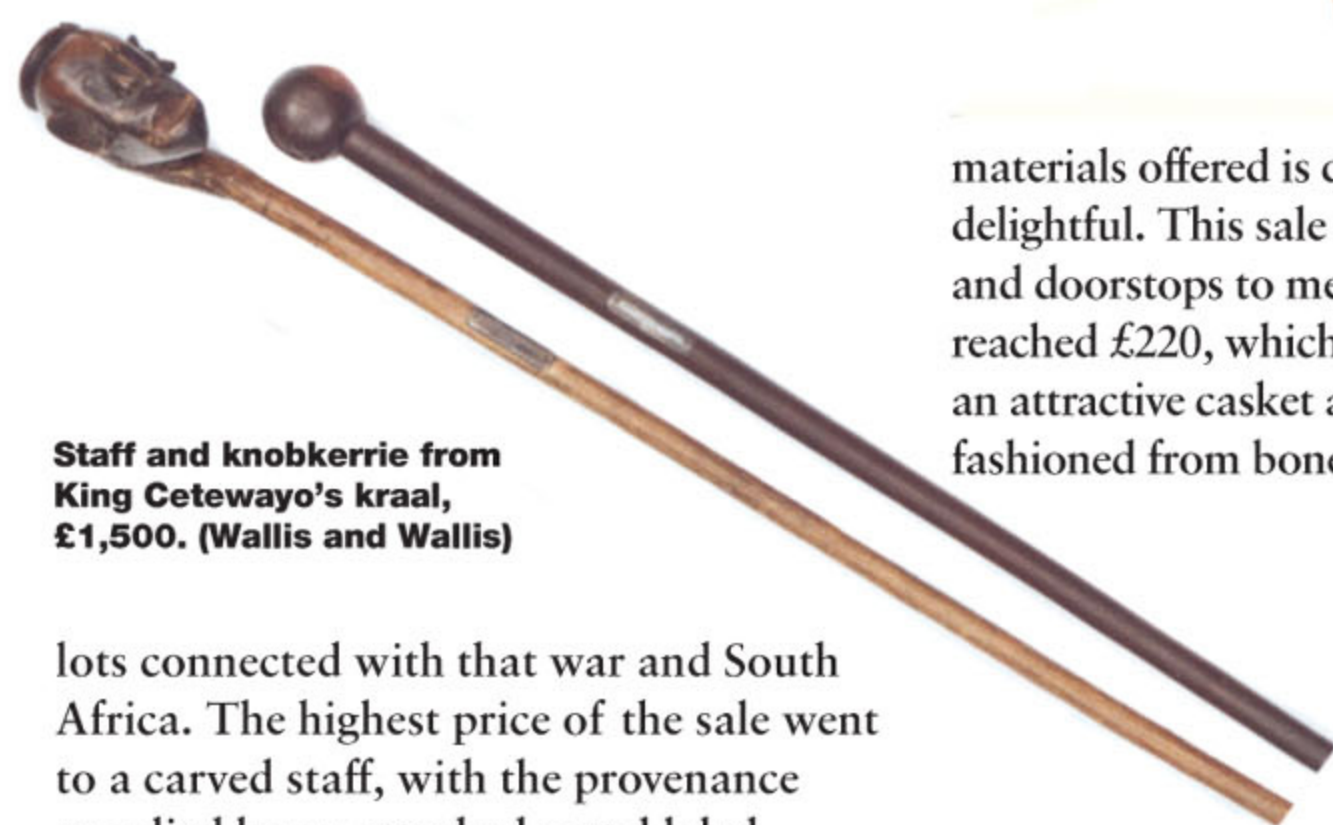


Militaria

Zulu High Prices

To all collectors of arms, armour and militaria, Wallis and Wallis are old friends. Many a collection has started with a visit to their sales rooms at Lewes in Sussex.

They are long established and their latest sale was number 534—and as always offered a range of objects likely to please collectors of all tastes. The Zulu War of 1879 has a larger than usual interest for collectors and there were several



Staff and knobkerrie from King Cetewayo's kraal, £1,500. (Wallis and Wallis)

lots connected with that war and South Africa. The highest price of the sale went to a carved staff, with the provenance supplied by an attached metal label, stating that it was taken from the village or Kraal of the Zulu king Cetywayo 1879. Together with another similar, the lot sold for £1,500. Other pieces with equally good provenances also make good prices, such as £725 for another knobkerrie owned by a surgeon who served in the campaign.

Rare club

Another field of ethnography that is gradually exciting interest is that of clubs from the Pacific islands. Denied the use of metals for centuries until the arrival of Europeans, the inhabitants were limited to wood and naturally occurring items to fashion their weapons. Each group of islands tended to develop their own style and their clubs are varied and often beautifully carved. Demand for these pieces has, in the past, been fairly limited but of late there are signs of increasing interest and a polished Fijian club sold for £870. Since the native people no longer make weapons, such pieces will become scarcer.

The Wallis Collectors' Items and Models is always worth checking for the range of

materials offered is quite astonishing and delightful. This sale offered coins, postcards and doorstops to mention but a few. Prices reached £220, which was the price paid for an attractive casket and set of dominoes fashioned from bone by French prisoners-of-war held in Britain, possibly in Dartmoor. Considering the enormous effort and ingenuity represented by such works, they are rather undervalued.

Among the German items, the top price of £690 went for a collection of various items, including a greatcoat, some airborne pieces and an American steel helmet but there were other lots such as a group of letters and correspondence of various types, which sold for a mere £30. A rather surprising lot was a fountain pen that sold for £330; however, when it was authenticated as having belonged to



Belgian six-shot 5mm pinfire purse revolver, £260. (Wallis and Wallis)

the Nazi German Foreign Minister, von Ribbentrop, this was not so surprising. Somewhat unusual was a circular bronze plaque, which came from an Imperial German train and sold for £200.

Scarce armour

For the collector of armour, there were

18th century French prisoner-of-war bone set of dominoes, £220. (Wallis and Wallis)



three good quality 17th century helmets, cabassets, each selling for £450 or £500. Armour is becoming scarce in the market and ordinary, commonplace helmets such as these are now quite attractive pieces. Their value can do nothing but grow as demand increases and supply diminishes.



17th century cabasset, £450. (Wallis and Wallis)

Another reminder of Britain's imperial past was a good example of Lovell's pattern percussion musket. It carried the stamps of a regiment of the old East India Company which, until the Mutiny of 1857, ruled India. Complete with its bayonet and despite some wear it sold for £470. The rising demand for Balkan weapons continues and three Turkish flintlock pistols of fairly typical form sold for £450-£500 each. A few years ago, it was unlikely that they would have made similar prices. The results of this sale seem to indicate that despite all the country's financial problems there is still some spare money about and collectors continue to buy •

Frederick Wilkinson

Museums & Shows

Weapons Collection

JOHN NORRIS visits a unique display at Warminster

How far the weaponry available to the infantryman has evolved since the Crimean War can be seen at the Infantry & Small Arms School Corps Weapons Collection at the HQ Infantry, Warminster Training Centre, Warminster, Wiltshire BA12 0DJ. This is not a museum but a unique collection of firearms from around the world which is used to instruct serving soldiers in the operational role of weapons and how they developed over the centuries to reach the modern weapons, such as the SA80 which is used by the British army today.

Military camp

The collection was originally started in 1853 when the School of Musketry was established at Hythe in Kent. It was moved to its present location in 1969

and today the collection has expanded to almost 3000 items. The weapons are shown in several rooms, each of which can be used for lectures to troops attending courses and even police officers. There are experimental designs that never entered production and other types that had a very limited service life.

A fascinating collection shows weapons from all over the world and many conflicts up to present day. There are pistols, sniper rifles, machine guns, sub-machine guns, anti-tank guns of WW2, massive 120mm mortars right down to the tiny Italian Brixia Model 35 mortar which fired rounds of 45mm calibre. Examples of weapons used by agents in the famous Special Operations Executive (SOE) are really specialist items and very rare. More familiar weapons such as the Israeli 'Uzi', Russian-designed AK47 and American M16 are displayed in

one room while in another room one can see trench mortars dating back to the First World War.

The fact that the collection is housed in the grounds of an operational military camp means that security is vitally important when it comes to visitors, but one should not be put off. For that reason, all visits have to be made in advance by telephoning 01985 222487 and confirming the appointment either in writing or by emailing dinf-sascgroupmailbox@mod.uk. It should be noted that the collection is only open for visits three days a week, Tuesday to Thursday, between the hours of 9.30am and 4pm. Groups of up to 20 can be accommodated on the escorted tour which is ideal for historical associations and collectors' societies. There is a cost of £5 per person for the tour, which lasts up to three hours with all weapons being explained.

June UK Diary

■ 2: Thursday

Lunchtime lecture at the National Army Museum at Chelsea in London with guest speaker Mark Connelly presenting a talk entitled 'Commemorating the Boys of the Veldt; Anglo-Boer Memorials in London 1902-1914'. Presentation begins at 12.30pm with free entry. Further details telephone 020 7730 0717 or visit www.national-army-museum.ac.uk

■ 4: Saturday

The Salisbury branch of the IPMS is hosting its model show at the Wyvern College Sports Hall, Church Road, Laverstock, Salisbury, Wilts. SP1 1RE. Doors open between 9.30am and 4.30pm. Displays and demonstrations along with traders' stalls and competitions. Special 'Make and Take' event for younger modellers. Further details telephone 01985 851113.

■ 5: Sunday

Militaria Fair is being held at the Historic Dockyard, Chatham, Kent ME4 4TZ. Doors open until 2pm. Further details telephone 07595 511981 or visit www.chatham-militaria-fairs.com

■ 6: Monday

The Stockport Militaria Collectors Society is having a talk with guest speakers Christopher Hill-Dix and Noonan Webb presenting a talk entitled 'The Lake Tanganyika Expedition'.

Evening begins at 7.45pm and is being held at the Britannia Hotel, Dialstone Lane, Offerton, Stockport, Cheshire SK2 6AG. Further details telephone 0161 930 1000 or visit www.stockportmilitaria.org

■ 9: Thursday

Lunchtime lecture at the National Army Museum at Chelsea in London with guest speaker Stephen Mason presenting a talk entitled 'Non-combatant Really? Decorated Bandsmen 1914-1945'. Presentation begins at 12.30pm with free entry. Further details telephone 020 7730 0717 or visit www.national-army-museum.ac.uk

■ 11&12: Saturday & Sunday

Wicksteed at War at Wicksteed Park, Kettering, Northants. Military vehicles, re-enactments, displays and traders' stalls. Further details telephone 07713 636760 or visit www.wicksteedpark.co.uk

■ 12: Sunday

Open Day at the Royal Observer Corps Nuclear Bunker in Cornwall. Two timed guided tours will be taken around the site, 11am-12.30pm and 1.30pm to 3.00pm. This is a National Trust site. Further details telephone 01872 278 234.

■ 16: Thursday

Lunchtime lecture at the National Army Museum at Chelsea in London with the guest

speaker Bill Nasson presenting a talk entitled 'Where Did General Jan Smuts Go, and Why? South Africa's Great War'. Presentation begins at 12.30pm with free entry. Further details telephone 020 7730 0717 or visit www.national-army-museum.ac.uk

■ 18: Saturday

The East-Neuk Branch of the IPMS presents its annual Fife Scale Model Show with doors open between 10am and 5pm. This is now being held at a new venue, Cupar Old Parish Centre, Kirk Wynd, Cupar, Fife KY15 5AV. All the usual range of traders, displays and other activities will be on site. Further details telephone either 01334 652439 or 01382 541104.

■ 19: Sunday

Military Collectors' Fair is being held at the Bromley Civic Centre, Stockwell Close, Kentish Way, Bromley, Kent BR1 3UH. Doors open 9.30am to 2.30pm. Further details telephone 0771 409 4009.

Military vehicle show at IWM Duxford, Cambs. Event will include the MAFVA National Championships. Further details telephone 01223 835000 or visit www.iwm.org.uk/duxford

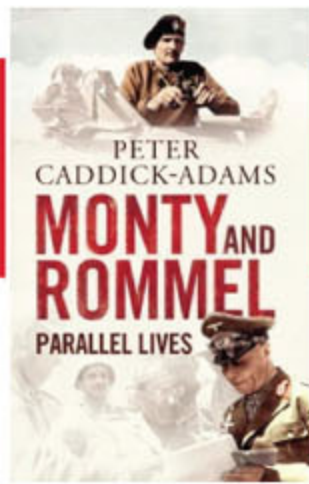
Continued on p47

Book Reviews

Monty and Rommel: Parallel Lives

by Peter Caddick-Adams (Preface Publishing)

hardback, 614pp, £20.00



Distinguished military historian Caddick-Adams has achieved a first by entwining biographies of two WW2 adversaries, field marshals Montgomery and Rommel. Both were dynamic military leaders who became media stars in their time, but also fell out with colleagues and superiors. The importance of their formative experiences in the Great War is rightly underlined, with Montgomery never wanting to repeat the waste of lives on the Western Front, preparing thoroughly for battles with overwhelming force and deploying artillery to great effect. Rommel too learned early the value of reconnaissance on the battlefield and was a tireless leader of his men, being wounded several times during fighting in Romania. 'I was suddenly shot in the forearm from the rear and blood spurted out,' he recalled. 'In spite of severe pain and exhaustion through loss of blood, I did not give up command on the unit.' Caddick-Adams makes good use of personal memoirs to make his book an exciting character-driven read and it an excellent example of how the personal experience of war can create great and yet humane generals. First class history.

Tim Newark

If the Dutch-Belgian forces are included in the count, then the Duke effectively commanded a Teutonic army with British supports. This was a product of Napoleon's humiliation of the German states almost a decade earlier, even forcing their soldiers to fight for him in Russia, so there were plenty who thirsted for revenge against the 'Corsican Tyrant'.

Like the first book, the eye-witness accounts are divided into the different experiences of the Cavalry, Infantry (by far the largest section), Artillery, Staff and support troops. Most of the accounts are absolutely gripping, for example a KGL Rifleman defending La Haye Sainte to the last bullet, or the Nassauers at Hougomont and Pappelotte. There is also the touching description of the cost of the battle in human and animal lives by a Brunswick Surgeon: 'Nobody can have any idea of battle and a battlefield who has not been there. It was a horrible scene, the splendid flowering fields all wasted and covered with piles of corpses.' Primary sources of this nature provide invaluable insights into the experience of battle.

Matthew Bennett

Lady Under Fire on the Western Front: The Great War Letters of Lady Dorothea Feilding MM

edited by A&N Hallam (Pen & Sword) hardback, 226pp, £19.99



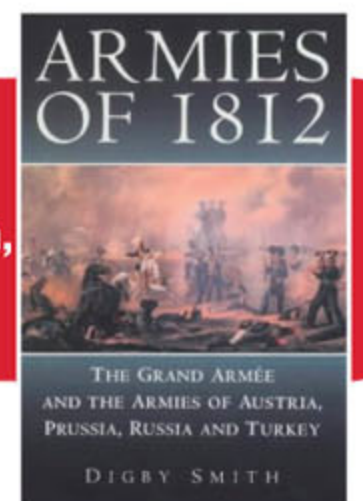
An essential yet often under-studied aspect of modern warfare is the importance of the medical services. The author of this letter collection was an aristocratic lady, the daughter of the Duke of Denbigh, whose family had long served in the Coldstream Guards, so she was incredibly well-connected. Dorothea served in the volunteer Munro Ambulance Corps on the Western Front and was the first woman to receive the Military Medal for bravery as well as being receiving French and Belgium awards. She seems to have been entirely without fear and cannot understand the 'funk' (cowardice) displayed by others, especially men. She was fortified by both a belief in her own luck and a devout Catholicism, common to

many of the aristocracy at the time, always seeking to attend Mass, take Communion and Confession whenever possible. Her letters provide powerful insights into the injuries suffered by the troops she served (including Germans) and she was very moved by her experiences. Yet throughout them she maintains a cheerful banter, which was clearly intended to reassure her mother and other family at home, while at the same time she was taking enormous risks to rescue and tend to the wounded, often under fire and only yards from the Front Line. This is a cleverly edited and well-produced book, with a section of contemporary photographs which further emphasise the contrast between the comfort of her lifestyle at home and the war zone. It also demonstrates supremely that physical bravery is not just a male characteristic.

Matthew Bennett

Armies of 1812: the Grande Armée and the armies of Austria, Prussia, Russia and Turkey

by Digby Smith (Spellmount) paperback, 224pp, £14.99



The first rule of military history—not to invade Russia—was broken by Napoleon in 1812 and with disastrous consequences. His army was over half million strong and composed not just of Frenchmen but many allied contingents of nations made subject to his empire in the previous years. Unfortunately for his soldiers, his military genius seemed to desert him, as his armies were drawn into attritional battles and then into ignominious defeat and almost total destruction by the vengeful Russians. The graphs of this horror are reproduced at Army and Corps level, together with a full orbat of all the contingents involved. There are numerous black and white illustrations, together with six-dozen in colour, each containing many individual uniforms of the troops of both sides. There is nothing dramatically original about this collection; but there is plenty of information in a small compass, and at a very reasonable price.

Matthew Bennett

The Waterloo Archive Volume II: German Sources

edited by Gareth Glover (Faber) hardback, 255pp. £25.00



Hot on the heels of the first volume of the British sources for Waterloo comes the second dealing with German material. The role played by German soldiers at Waterloo was not restricted to the arrival of the Prussians late in the day. They also made up a substantial part of Wellington's army including over 20,000 of the veteran King's German Legion and the less-experienced Hanoverian forces.

Book Reviews

Mud, Blood and Bullets: memoirs of a machine-gunner on the Western Front

edited by Janet Tucker (*The History Press*) paperback, 190pp, £12.99

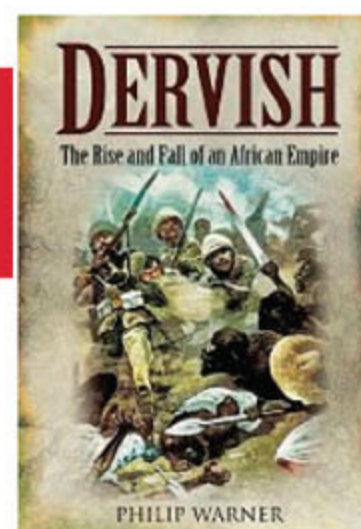


After WW1 he married and spent a few years in Australia, returning to Britain in 1926 and serving in the Home Guard in WW2, although reduced from Sergeant to Corporal, much to his disgust. The book is well-illustrated by a black-and-white photograph section and production values are good throughout.

Matthew Bennett

Dervish: the Rise and Fall of an African Empire

by Philip Warner (*Pen & Sword*) hardback, 235pp, £19.99



Frontier Fighters: On Active Service in Waziristan edited by Jules Stewart (*Pen & Sword*) 191pp, £19.99

What used to be known as Victorian 'Small Wars' have received a renewed interest in the last decade as British Forces find themselves fighting post-colonial wars in Africa and Afghanistan. 'Plum' Warner's elegant survey of operations in Sudan in the last two decades of the 19th century provides an exciting tale from disaster under Hicks Pasha (1884) to victory under Kitchener (1898). Warner was

a Sandhurst lecturer for 30 years after WW2 and truly prolific author. He wrote two score books (an impossibility for his busy successors in the job), a dozen of which Pen & Sword have republished; a worthy tribute to his craft as a military historian. Although the book was written 40 years ago, it still contains much of value, even if the photographs are rather poor owing to the copying process.

The memoirs of Major Walter James Cumming have been edited by freelance journalist Stewart, an expert on the North-West Frontier, and provide fascinating insights into his Indian Army service from an 18-year-old in 1915 to El Alamein in 1942. Most of the story concerns fighting the Pathans with his unit the Militia Scouts in some desolate terrain now made familiar today due to current operations in Afghanistan. 'The more things change the more they stay the same', as the old saying goes: the war in the Sudan was fought against Muslim fanatics led by a charismatic prophet, while Cumming duelled with tough mountain-men much as ISAF does now. There a couple of rather small maps, but the wonderfully atmospheric photographs taken by Major Willy Brown during the 1919-20 campaign against the Mahsouds really capture the essence of frontier warfare.

Matthew Bennett

June UK Diary *continued*

■ 23: Thursday

Lunchtime lecture at the National Army Museum at Chelsea in London with guest speaker Ian Dalglish presenting a talk entitled 'The Normandy Campaign'. Presentation begins at 12.30pm with free entry. Further details telephone 020 7730 0717 or visit www.national-army-museum.ac.uk

■ 25 & 26: Saturday & Sunday

Tankfest at Bovington Tank Museum in Dorset. This year's show is entitled 'Evolution' which tells the story of the tank. Static displays, mobility displays and battle re-enactment along with all the usual traders stall and re-enactment displays. Further details telephone 01929 462529 or visit www.tankmuseum.org

Wartime in the Vale returns to Ashdown WW II Camp near Evesham, Worcs. Re-enactment displays and battle re-enactment, vehicles and traders' stalls. Further details telephone 0779 159 1528 or visit www.ashdowncamp.webs.com

Muckleburgh Collection, Weybourne, Holt, Norfolk NR25 7EG is hosting a vehicle display with mobility demonstrations. Further details telephone 01263 588210.

■ 25: Saturday

Toy Soldier Show with King & Country UK is being held at the Royal National Hotel, Bedford Way, London WC1H 0DG. Doors open between 10am and 4pm. Displays, re-enactors and models galore. Further details telephone 01388 818882 or visit www.thetoyshow.com

■ 26: Sunday

Arms, medal and militaria fair is being held at the Village Hotel, Whiston, Liverpool L35 1RZ. Doors open between 9am and 3pm. Further details telephone 01423 780759 or visit www.northernarmsfairs.co.uk

■ 30: Thursday

Lunchtime lecture at the National Army Museum at Chelsea in London with guest speaker Richard Burnip presenting a talk entitled 'Reading Around the Homefires; The Strand Magazine in the Great War' Presentation begins at 12.30pm with free entry. Further details telephone 020 7730 0717 or visit www.national-army-museum.ac.uk

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※Image shows several decals enlarged.



Example



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